



# ACHAEMENID IMPACT IN THE BLACK SEA

COMMUNICATION OF POWERS

*Edited by Jens Nieling and Ellen Rehm*



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COMMUNICATION OF POWERS

# BLACK SEA STUDIES

11

THE DANISH NATIONAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION'S  
CENTRE FOR BLACK SEA STUDIES

# ACHAEMENID IMPACT IN THE BLACK SEA COMMUNICATION OF POWERS

*Edited by*  
*Jens Nieling and Ellen Rehm*

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# Introduction

*Jens Nieling & Ellen Rehm*

## *A short historical overview*

For 200 years, from the second half of the sixth century to the decades before 330 BC, the Persian dynasty of the Achaemenids ruled Anatolia and Armenia as part of an enormous empire stretching from the Mediterranean Sea to Afghanistan and India. The Great Kings Dareios I and Xerxes I even tried to conquer Greece and the northern Black Sea territories. Although they failed, parts of Thrace did become part of their dominion for a short period. The Pontic Greeks were able to take advantage of the situation by aligning themselves with Persian supremacy, which might have been a tempting alternative to joining the Athenian-led Delian League.

As the Great Kings in Persepolis lost interest in their northwestern border, their satraps had to handle the situation, maintaining the balance of power by entering into various alliances with Greek and probably also Scythian factions. This was a stable solution and the satraps became so adept at playing this 'Anatolian plan' that a desire for independence arose.

From 400 BC onwards, with the rebellion of Cyrus the Younger, as documented by Xenophon, a series of internal struggles started to weaken parts of the Empire. This situation was beneficial to the peripheries, for example, the Bosporan Kingdom, and led to a new level of acculturation at the expense of the Persians in the first half of the fourth century. In a kind of globalization effect, the established Greek polis communities were also destabilized during the same period, so that, finally, nobody could resist the new rising power of the Macedonians.

In contrast to some of the other satrapies, such as Egypt, Phoenicia and Syria, the Black Sea had no prosperous cities or provinces to offer.

The question always rises as to why the Great Kings were interested in the western and northern Pontic zones. One possible answer might be the desire to conquer every part of the known world. After 479 BC, it seems that the Great Kings acknowledged the fact that the coast and the Caucasus formed the natural borders of their Empire. The satraps, on the other hand, could not avoid becoming involved in the affairs of the Black Sea region in order to safeguard the frontiers they had established. They had to incorporate the Greeks, as accepted inhabitants of their province, into the Persian adminis-

trative system. Possibly they achieved this by granting them the monopoly in sea trade and using the Anatolian Greeks as the main active bearers and transmitters of Persian customs and culture. More research into this chapter of Persian history is still required.

### *The development of research*

Over the past few years, the breadth of research into the Persians has expanded. Usually only considered by historians, and then only from the viewpoint of Greek writers, the Achaemenid period is generally a marginal area of the archaeological disciplines. Whereas for Classical archaeologists the Persian Empire lies in the far east and most of them are not well acquainted with its eastern cultural background, for many ancient Near Eastern archaeologists the destruction of Nineveh in 612 BC marks the end of the great cultures of the ancient Near East. In addition, they are often not well acquainted with the cultural history of the west. Historically, each of the disciplines has developed independently, adopting different approaches and even using different language. On the one hand, these presuppositions make dealing with such a marginal area of study as the Achaemenid period particularly interesting, but, on the other hand, they also make it particularly difficult.

Nevertheless, several years ago a few scholars who were closely interconnected, especially through dealing with a particular geographical region, took up this challenge. As a result, several important international conferences occurred. While the conference held in Paris in 2003, which published the report *Colloque sur l'archéologie de l'empire achéménide* (Persika 6, 2005), was devoted to the whole Achaemenid Empire, a conference held in Istanbul in 2005 (*The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia. (6<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC)*) restricted itself mainly to the monuments of Anatolia. However, in this way, it provided a perspective on the types of influence that affected the shores of the Black Sea. Further important information on the Achaemenids in the region of the Black Sea can be found in the publications of the Vani conferences held regularly in Georgia.

### *A new Aarhus project*

The Aarhus Centre for Black Sea Studies is currently working on the acculturation process from a distinctly Pontic perspective. The new project is devoted to the most significant phases of the Persian period. As in other regions, new meanings and values were introduced by the Persians which had a defining influence on the region in this period. This is evident in the precious objects found in Thracian, Scythian and Caucasian surroundings that reflect this influence. In all these regions on the edge of the Empire, a process of state formation took place to a certain degree, and this is documented by other indicators as well as the presence of Persian-influenced precious objects. The

project is interested not only in the areas which belonged to the Persian Empire as satrapies but also in the neighbouring regions, which were or might have been in close contact with the Persians. One of the aims of the project is to establish the different positions that the various regions held – both geographically and politically. To determine which elements influenced these widespread regions might be the first step in identifying the different cultural mechanisms at work during this important period.

### *The historical sources*

Apart from the important Bisitun inscription of Dareios the Great, which informs us about his rise and his amazing reorganization of the Persian Empire, there is little political evidence from Persia itself.

There are, however, large and important groups of various types of texts, especially from the mainland but also from Babylonia and Egypt, which throw light on the organization of the Achaemenid Empire. They also provide us with details of daily life. But there are no written sources originating from the western and northern parts of the Empire and from neighbouring regions. We are, therefore, dependent on written records composed by Greek authors. In his *Histories*, Herodotos describes the beginning of the rise of Achaemenid power and introduces the reader to its expansion under Dareios the Great. The commander and author Xenophon is one of the most important witnesses for the later periods, because he was directly involved in the fratricidal war between Cyrus the Younger and his brother, the Persian king Artaxerxes, which took place in Kunaxa near Babylon. However, we should always keep in mind that all the writers from Greece or Asia Minor viewed events through their own eyes, and that, consequently, these sources are subjective and biased. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, although their background was formed by the knowledge that the Persians were a danger to their own societies, through the disagreements of the various political entities, particularly in Asia Minor, these western views of the enemy differed and, in turn, the foreign easterners certainly aroused wonderment.

The first step in the conquest of the Black Sea region by Dareios I was to mount a campaign against the Scythians in 512 BC. *Christopher Tuplin*, who is working on warfare and military rule in the Persian Empire, re-examines this campaign and touches on the question of the satrapy of Thrace. The extent and duration of this satrapy is still a matter for debate, due to scarce and uncertain documentation. Ancient sources – both written and archaeological – only reveal that the coastal area of Thrace was conquered. The hinterland seems to have remained in the hands of the indigenous rulers, who were – and this has to be emphasized – sometimes in close contact with the Persians, whom they exploited in order to acquire more power and control, unlike other rulers within the region.

*Ellen Rehm* has compiled a history of Thrace in respect of the Achaemenids.

She examines the difficult question as to which area is meant by the ancient writers – Thrace as part of Europe or as part of Asia Minor – and for which period a satrapy is in question and how long a dependency can be recorded. She also analyses the name “Skudra”, as used in Persian inscriptions. In spite of a general consensus, even today there is no absolute certainty that this term can be equated with Thrace.

*Maria Brosius* discusses the cooperation between the conquerors and indigenous peoples, which used the system of the *pax persica*. She comes to the persuading conclusion that the Persians formulated different criteria for these peripheral areas of their Empire, where military and economic aspects were crucial.

*Jens Nieling* throws light on Ionian and Persian collaboration in respect of the conquest of the area around the Black Sea by the Persian rulers. He enquires into the requisite preparations for the Scythian campaign of Dareios I and comes to the conclusion that in prior years a clear expansion of the Ionians is noticeable, which can be demonstrated by a strong increase in the number and the quality of construction of settlements. He proposes support from the Persians, who in this way must have created a better operational base. According to him, as a result of the Ionian rebellion, the Persians intervened once again in the politics of the northern area around the Black Sea, and in about 495 BC destroyed the Ionian settlements there. One of the proofs given by Nieling of this presumed Persian campaign of revenge is that the destruction can only be established on the coast and therefore clearly speaks for an attack from the sea.

### *Archaeological research*

For more than a century, the archaeological community has known about the inventories of spectacular Kurgan burials around the Black Sea. References to precious objects and imported Greek vases easily find their way into publications. The finds from the northern coast show a fascinating mixture and blend of so-called Greek and Barbarian art and have prompted numerous discussions concerning the types of co-existence of the diverse groups living there. The objects from the western coast, especially the finds of enormous hoards of gold and silver from present-day Bulgaria, have traditionally dominated all fields of research. Nowadays, thanks to modern excavation techniques and also thanks to a change in emphasis, with the main focus now being to understand the living circumstances of the ancient population, we can learn more from what at first sight seem to be unexciting materials from common graves, cemeteries and settlements.

How clearly the Achaemenids influenced other Anatolian regions as well, through art and iconography in representations of the indigenous population, can be seen in the Paphlagonian rock tombs in the presentation by *Lâtife Summerer* and *Alexander von Kienlin*. In their façades, decorated with architectural

features and reliefs – and originally probably also painted – the graves from Donalar, Terelik, and Salarköy exhibit extremely interesting echoes of Persian models, combined with indigenous and Greek ideas. This eclecticism is demonstrated in a few illustrations from this remote region and is one of many possible indications of the way in which various external influences could affect the presentation of local dynasties.

In southwest Anatolia also, in Karia, elements of Persian influence are clearly reflected. *Anne Marie Carstens* explains how, under the harsh rule of the Hekatomnid – powerful indigenous chiefs, who retained both their own position as local rulers and the position of satrap forced upon them – the rural sanctuary of Zeus, dating to the fourth century BC, was renewed. In this temple, two matching statues of sphinxes were found, based on models from the Persian heartland. They indicate the formal influence of Persia, since flanking sphinxes, which in the Near East are attested as guardians of gates warding off evil, occur on numerous seals in western Anatolia. In addition, they provide a connection in terms of content. Like other elements of the temple, they demonstrate, through the absorption of Persian culture, an assimilation of the display of Achaemenid power.

A different situation obtains in the area of present-day Bulgaria, which at one time belonged to the Thracian satrapy. Even though it was under Persian rule probably for only a few centuries, more than 100 years later clear traces of influence remained visible. *Diana Gergova* deals with the rich finds of gold and silver from both Kurgan and Douvanli, which were mostly deposited in the fourth century BC, but contain objects that are definitely older. The objects are examined in respect of their function and Gergova comes to the conclusion that the finds are to be considered as ritually buried hoards, which in turn can be divided into various categories. Besides jewellery, horse-trappings and weapons, drinking vessels can also be identified. In respect of form, the objects often appear to be local imitations of Achaemenid objects and indicate the influence of the Achaemenid Empire, which at that time had turned Thrace into a Persian satrapy. However, Gergova connects the contents of these hoards with local cults, indicating how closely related they were to the Mother Goddess and to Apollo and Ars.

Similarly, the objects which reflect Achaemenid influence east of the Black Sea mainly come from graves. In a wide-ranging contribution, *Adele Bill* provides a survey of objects influenced by the Achaemenids from the Caucasus, which according to Herodotus represented the northernmost border of the Persian Empire. As usual, a discussion arises as to how far these objects indicate an Achaemenid occupation. Nevertheless, they provide clear proof that in the long term the power of the Persians left significant traces, in spite of the strong indigenous traditions of the various small tribes who lived in this region.

Focusing on a single site, *Vladimir R. Erlikh* presents finds from the northern Caucasus. The extraordinarily rich Ulski Kurgans were partly excavated at the

end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, and partly at the beginning of the 21st century. To some extent, since they contained no burials, they are to be considered as ritual sites. Along with typical Scythian objects, they also provide objects demonstrating Achaemenid influence. The Kurgans can be dated from the second half of the sixth century BC up to the second half of the fourth century BC. On the basis of comparative examples from Achaemenid centres such as Pasargadae, the late phase shows the extensive sphere of activity of the Achaemenids and a close connection with the Persian Empire. A discussion of the production of these objects concludes that there must have been workshops in Colchis which imitated the Achaemenid style.

In Colchis, which lies to the south, remains of architecture can be compared which unequivocally prove a close connection with the Persian Empire. The results of the Deutsch-Georgisch-Azerbaijanischen Expedition in Karacamirli, presented by *Florian Knauss, Iulon Gagoshidze* and *Ilias Babaev*, show how far to the north construction of buildings was carried out by or in accordance with Achaemenid traditions. The size, but especially the construction material of stone – there is no tradition of building with stone in this region – and the architectural features, such as the bell-shaped bases and the rediscovered Persian propyleion, are very similar to remains from the Achaemenid heartland. We cannot yet tell the precise size of the associated residence, which undoubtedly was located on a neighbouring hill. Nevertheless, its general size and its carefully worked style, which is very like the architecture of Persian residences in the heartland, establish that Karacamirli was the dominant residence of a high-ranking authority in this region, if not the central building complex overall. Similar remains in neighbouring Gumbati and Sari Tepe, which have come to light, are clearly smaller and exhibit a style that is somewhat remote from the original. It remains interesting – according to what we know so far – that Achaemenid power felt it particularly necessary to make its presence and its might noticeable through buildings.

*Mikhail Treister* looks at Achaemenid and Achaemenid-inspired metalwork from the periphery and from the region north of the border with the Persian Kingdom. In his contribution, he describes an arc from present-day Bulgaria to the Caucasus, and discusses the styles and divisions of the objects and their chronological distribution, as well as the typical forms of Persian culture. In this connection he persistently poses the question of the locations of the workshops, which adopted a so-called “Achaemenid international style”.

*Ellen Rehm* adopts a similar approach in her attempt to establish a stylistic classification for these objects, which could help to answer questions concerning centre and periphery, acculturation and dependence. She strives for a threefold division, the open boundaries of which should prevent a forcing of the material into modern categories.

*Vladimir Goroncharovski* presents the important and interesting site of Semibratnee, ancient Labrys, located at the former mouth of the Kuban river. The

urban settlement with an adjacent necropolis around several impressive kurgans may be considered as a centre, if not the capital, of the Sindian people. He uses a silver-gilt rython from one of the burial mounds to demonstrate how local-Persian-Greek interaction was mirrored in the symposium equipment used by the ruling class.

*Tatyana Smekalova* focuses on the same Seven Brothers site and reports her latest magnetometer scanning results which shed light on the complicated plan of the town's defensive structures. Her work shows that research at this important site is still very much in its infancy.

### *Concluding comments*

The papers collected in this volume were given at a conference held at Sandbjerg Manor, the guest house of the University of Aarhus, near Sønderborg, from the 10th to the 12th January 2008; except for the articles by Ellen Rehm and Tatyana Smekalova which were written while they were working at the Black Sea Centre. Later added was the contribution by Vladimir Goroncharovski of Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, who kindly allowed us to publish the new results of his excavation. To all the participants and authors we would like to express our great gratitude. We must also mention the openness and pleasantness with which the representatives of the various disciplines livened up the many discussions. Due to the fact that the topic was illuminated from a range of perspectives, it was possible to come to conclusions that will lead us further in our understanding.

In the final discussion, it was agreed that there is still a need for further research into the role of the Persians in the Black Sea region. Due to the lack of historical and political information and written sources, especially from the eastern region of the Black Sea, this area has previously been excluded from general research. After this first step towards compiling the results from various areas of research, we hope that study of this exciting period of the Black Sea region, during the time of the last and greatest ancient Near Eastern superpower, will continue.

Aarhus, March 2010



# Achaemenids in the Caucasus?

*Adele Bill*

There are many publications about the Achaemenids and their culture. But who were the Achaemenids or, better yet, what does the term "Achaemenid art" mean exactly?

The Achaemenids were simply a dynasty of rulers of a vast and powerful empire with extremely diverse inhabitants. Unlike the Romans, who also ruled over a huge territory and developed and transmitted their own schemes of planning and architectural types, the Persian satraps simply took over existing palaces and residences.

For the construction of his palace in Susa, Dareios I brought together workmen and materials from different parts of the Empire. The so-called foundation inscription, from about 522 BC, reads:

The gold was brought from Sardis and from Bactria, which here was wrought. The precious stones lapis lazuli and carnelian which were wrought here, these were brought from Sogdiana. The precious stone turquoise, this was brought from Chorasmia, which was wrought here.

The silver and the ebony were brought from Egypt. The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia was brought. The ivory which was wrought here, was brought from Ethiopia and from Sind and from Arachosia.

The stone columns which were here wrought, a village named Abiradu, in Elam from there were brought. The stone-cutters who wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardians.

The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardians and Egyptians. The men who wrought the baked brick, those were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall, those were Medes and Egyptians (Curtis & Razmjou 2005, 56, cat. no. 1).

Therefore, is it appropriate to speak of Achaemenid art or architecture? A comparison to the Medici in Florence is perhaps more appropriate. We would never speak of Medici art; we would prefer the term 'art in the time of the Medici'.

However, the main question under consideration in this article is: how can we interpret the material from burials in the modern states of Georgia, Arme-



Fig. 1. Transcaucasia. 1 – Mingečaur; 2 – Novemberian (after National Geographic).

nia and Azerbaijan, that is, the area of Transcaucasia? (Fig. 1). In particular, do we have proof for any cultural influence or, even more, for the presence of the Achaemenids?

Apart from some stone-built tombs and a coffin in Susa (from the very end of the Achaemenid period, ca. 350-332 BC) (Razmjou 2005, 174-179), we do not know very much about burial customs in ancient Persia. What did the tombs look like? What were the burial customs? What types of burial goods were deposited? In my opinion, no satisfactory answers to these questions have yet been found.

Most scholars dealing with the archaeological material of the southern Caucasus or Transcaucasia and the location of the northern border of ancient Persia refer to Herodotos (3.97):

...Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasian mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians);...these were rendered every four years and are still so rendered, namely, a hundred boys and as many maidens (Curtis 2005a, 47, translated by A.D. Godley).

According to Herodotos, the northern border of ancient Persia extended as far as the Caucasian mountains. But only the region of modern Armenia is mentioned as a part of the satrapy system, as a part of the 13th and 18th satrapies. On the other hand, Colchis<sup>1</sup>, mostly located in present-day western Georgia,

seems to have held a special position: it had to pay a tribute in the form of 100 young boys and girls. Nothing is known about the status of present-day Azerbaijan; perhaps it belonged to the 15th satrapy, together with the Sakas and the Caspians.

Except for the remarks of Herodotos, nothing else is known from literary sources about the satrapies (Wiesehöfer 2005, 96), neither about their extension and borders nor about their development during the 220 years of Persian rule.

Therefore, let us take a look at the archaeological material. All three of the modern Transcaucasian republics share one common feature amongst their archaeological material – evidence of a particular burial practice, i.e. the use of stone cists and pit graves, which were common from the Bronze Age.

For Azerbaijan, there is some information about burials from the Achaemenid period, for example from Mingečaur (Fig. 1.1), which, unfortunately, is not yet fully published. However, the short notes of the excavators do not suggest remarkable objects or constructions (Chalilov 1971, 185-187). There is some information about burials with “Achaemenid jewellery and pottery”, for example in Novemberian in northeastern Armenia (Fig. 1.2), though these finds were published without illustrations or any detailed information (Kroll 2003, 284).

Neither in Armenia nor in Azerbaijan has evidence for *rich* burials dated to the Achaemenid period been found. Although some excavations were undertaken during the Soviet era, there is not much evidence about burials of the second half of the first millennium BC. The few graves revealed contained only poor objects.

Only in the northernmost part of Transcaucasia, in Georgia, is there enough rich archaeological material available to distinguish between different burial customs (Fig. 2).

Beside the traditional burials – small cist graves and pit graves with individuals placed contracted on their left or right sides – we also have some huge graves with individuals laying on their backs and with accompanying horse burials; they occur from the sixth century BC, for example in Nižnjaja Ešera (Bill 2003, 205-207, pls. 114.16-24, 115). The size of this burial, the extended position of the deceased, the accompanying horse burial (which is unfortunately published only as a brief description and without any illustrations) and, last but not least, the boar tusk with depictions in the Scythian animal style are strong evidence for a nomadic background (Scythian and/or Sauromatian).

Between the fifth and third centuries BC, the number of large graves placed under burial mounds, with wooden structures, horse burials and rich grave goods, increased. These burials were surrounded by smaller, second-rate or peripheral burials, for example in Itchvisi (Bill 2003, 171-173). The orientation of the peripheral burials, as well as the placement and arrangement of the deceased, were similar to those in the central graves of the kurgans. Only the burial goods were less rich, but, compared with the cist and pit graves in the



Fig. 2. Georgia.  $\Delta$  – rich burials (after Bill 2003, pls. 1, 5).

other burial grounds, they should still be referred to as 'rich'. They contained gold jewellery, weapons and imported pottery. Unfortunately, the peripheral burials are mentioned only briefly in the publications.

Another very interesting feature is the distribution of the rich burials (Fig. 2). The burials with the greatest dimensions and the wealthiest endowments were situated near the Rioni river and its tributary, the Kvirila, whereas the smaller and less rich burials of the same type were located south of the Kura/Mtkvari river.

On closer examination, these rich burials show some very interesting peculiarities. Their construction differs considerably from the graves prevailing in this region (Fig. 3). They contain wooden structures, the burial pit is sometimes divided by a step or offset into two sections and there are also uncommon burial rites: The deceased is often placed in a supine position, and there are also accompanying burials, probably of persons from the entourage, but also horse and dog burials. These elements can hardly be seen as autochthonous developments of the local burial custom, rather, they indicate an influence from outside.

Close similarities to these peculiarities can be found in the burial types and burial customs of the Eurasian nomads. The division of the burial chamber into two sections by a large step – as in Sairche 5, 8 and 13 (Fig. 3.2.4) – can also be observed in the northern Pontic area, for example in the mound of Konstantinovka-na-Donu (sixth century BC) (Kijaško & Korenjako 1976, 171,

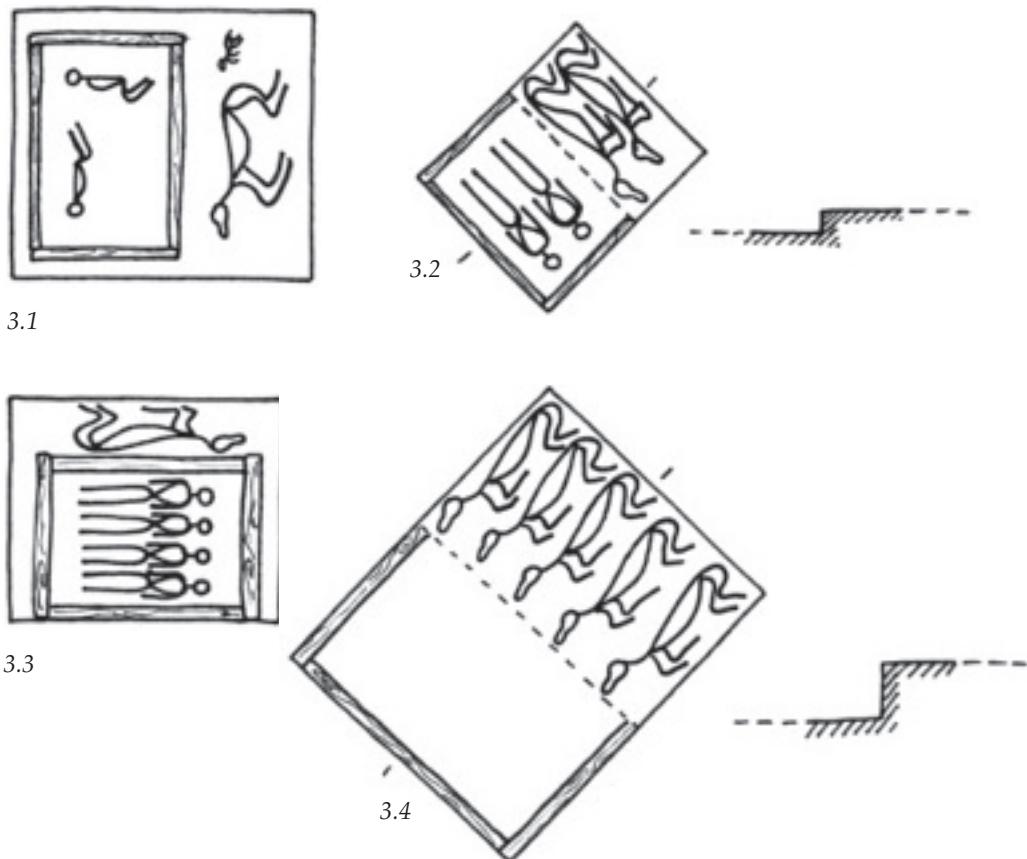


Fig. 3. Rich burials. 1 – Itchvisi 2; 2 – Sairche 13; 3 – Vani 11; 4 – Sairche 5 (drawing S. Schorndorfer).

fig. 1) and in southern Siberia: In the mound of kurgan 8 in Tuékty (Altai) (fifth to fourth century BC) the floor of the southern part was located 65cm deeper than that of the northern part. In the northern part, burials of horses were found (Kiselev 1949, 170; Rudenko 1960, 18-19). The sacrifice of one or more horses or of horse harnesses as *pars pro toto* is a custom of these early nomadic people.

The individuals buried south of the Kura/Mtkvari river had been placed in flexed positions, for example in Énageti (Bill 2003, pl. 30). This strong contraction can be compared to the Caucasian funeral traditions. On the other hand, the individuals north of the Kura/Mtkvari river were mostly placed on their backs or bent too, but only with a slight contraction as in Itchvisi (Fig. 3.1). This can be compared to burials from the Altai, such as Berel 31, Kazakhstan (Samašev 2007, 139, fig. 12) and Olon-Kurin-Gol 10, Mongolia (Molodin et al. 2007, 152, fig. 8), or from southern Siberia, for example the recently excavated

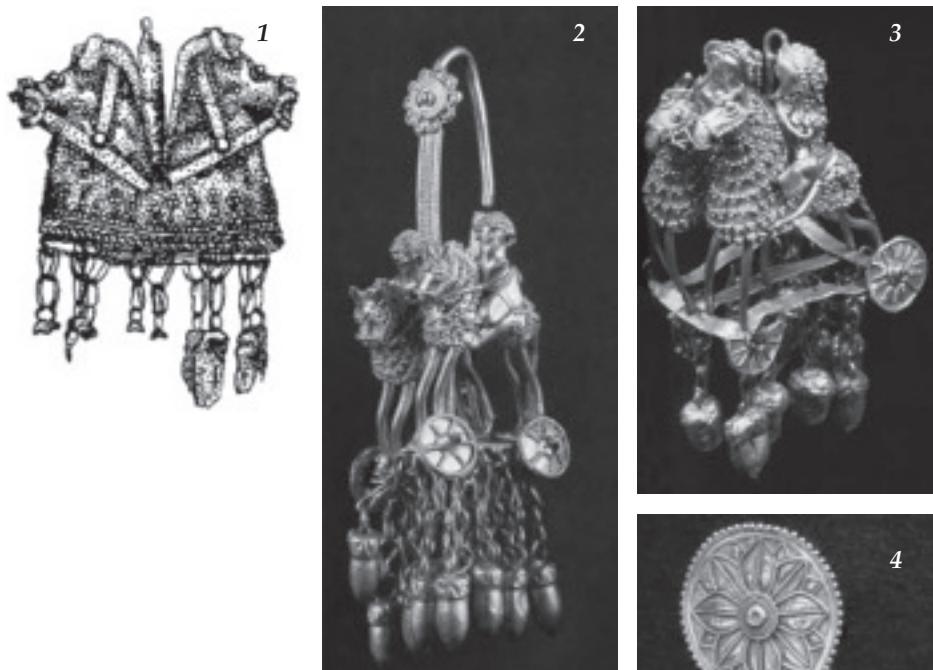


Fig. 4. Earrings.

1 – Gaston Uota 22;

2 – Vani 6;

3 – Sazonkin Bugor;

4 – Sadseguri

(1 after Mošinskij 2006, 90; 2 after Miron & Orthmann

1995, 147, fig. 146; 3 after Anisimova et al. 2005, 84-85;

4 after Miron & Orthmann 1995, 161, fig. 162).

kurgan Aržan 2, which dates to the seventh century BC (Čugunov et al. 2007, 71, fig. 3).

Examination of the burial goods from these Transcaucasian graves reveals that they have no predecessors in this area. Objects of similar types are common in Greece, Asia Minor and Persia. But regarding both the burial goods and the grave constructions of these Transcaucasian graves it becomes obvious that more similarities to Scythian/Sarmatian burials can be found. A comparison with Achaemenid jewellery is hardly possible, because almost no jewellery from greater Iran has been preserved. The only examples of jewellery from the period are – beside those from Susa – found in hoards: the Oxus Treasure (200 BC) (Curtis 2005a, 48), the Lydian Treasure, the hoard from Pasargadae and the so-called Ardebil Treasure (Curtis 2005b, 132). John Curtis has pointed out some characteris-

tics: "Achaemenid jewellery is distinguished for the fine quality of the inlaid polychrome decoration that is characteristic of this period. ... various items of jewellery were inlaid with pieces of stone, glass, faience... the most popular inlay stones were turquoise, lapis lazuli and carnelian" (Curtis 2005b, 132).

In my opinion, there is no evidence for polychrome, cloisonné jewellery in Georgia before the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, the artists in Georgia were (by the way, as much as the Eurasian nomads) more famous for their use of the granulation technique.

There are some specific types of objects that are sometimes taken as evidence for Persian influence, which either existed already before the Persian Empire (seventh century BC) or are to be found within the burials of the Eurasian nomads.

### *Jewellery*

*Earrings in the shape of two horses or two horsemen* have been found in Sadseguri (Bill 2003, 210-212, pl. 122.1) and Vani 6 (Bill 2003, 229-239, pl. 163.10-13). They have good matches or parallels in Gaston Uota, northern Caucasus (fourth century BC) and in Sazonkin Bugor, Astrakhan, Wolga region (fifth century BC) (Fig. 4). The Goryt on the earring of Vani 6 is a typical Scythian element, as we can see, for example on the electron vessel from Kul'-Oba, Kerč (Aruz et al. 2000, 206-210, cat. no. 146).

*Bracelets with ends formed as animal heads*, as, for example in Vani 6 (Bill 2003, pl. 165.3-5), have also been found within some nomadic burials (Bill 2003, 90). But for the early nomads gold torcs were rather more important than bracelets.

*Clothing ornaments*, i.e. gold plaques with loops or small rings, which would have been sewn onto fabric (or leather) have been found. From the Achaemenid period we have typical examples of jewellery with polychrome inlays (Curtis 2005b, 134). On the contrary, in Georgia there are gold plaques of eagles, ducks, horses or wild boar which are analogous to items from the burials of Eurasian nomads (Fig. 5).

### *Metal vessels*

Gold and silver bowls or other metal vessels have been found in many burials in Georgia (Bill 2003, 112-115). According to Herodotos (4.5), the plough, yoke, axe, but also the gold bowl or cup, belonged to the sacred tools of the Scythians. As endorsement of this statement, we have found numerous metal vessels – mainly bowls and rhyta – in the burials of the Eurasian nomads (see, for example Aruz et al. 2000, cat. nos. 143, 147).

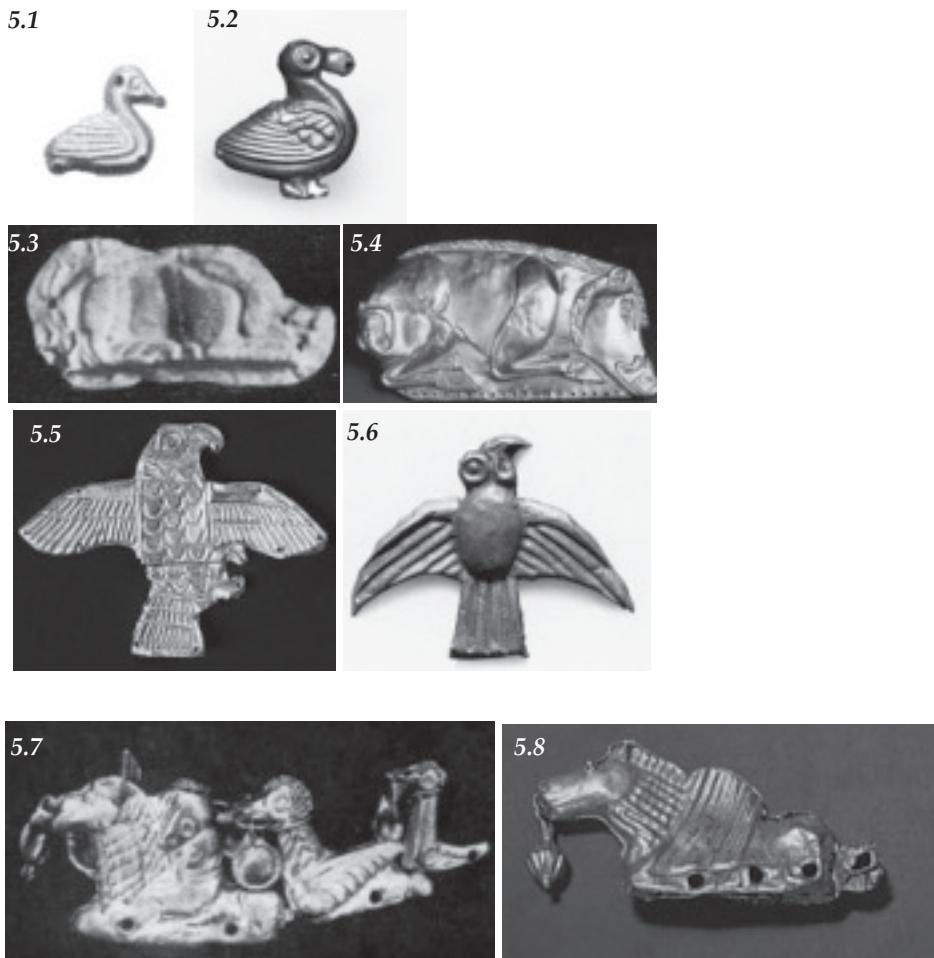


Fig. 5. Clothing ornaments.

- 1 – Sairche 5;
- 2 – Ulljap;
- 3, 5, 7 – Vani 16, 6, 9;
- 4 – Aleksandrovka;
- 6 – Bajkara;
- 8 – Kurdžips (1 after Nadiradze 1990, pl. 3.2; 2 after Erlich 2007, 210, fig. 7; 3 after Lordkipanidze 1986, pl. 10.1; 4 after Rolle et al. 1991, 304, cat. no. 88; 5 after Lordkipanidze 1996, pl. 4.6; 6 after Parzinger et al. 2007, 181, fig. 10; 7 after Lordkipanidze 1972, 166; 8 after Galanina 1980, 83-84, pl. 7, cat. no. 17).

*Glass vessels*

Altogether, nine glass vessels have been found in Georgia (Bill 2003, 115). This is a considerable number, since glass cups were very valuable and mostly used by the Persian court and its nobles. Aristophanes, who tells of the merciless Persian hosts, gives a short description of a ritual:

They compelled us to drink sweet wine, wine without water, from gold and glass cups (Ar. Ach 72-73) (Simpson 2005, 104).

But how can these rare finds from Transcaucasia be interpreted? Can they really be seen as an indication that Persian palatial ceremonial customs were practised in Georgia, across the border of the Persian Empire? I do not think so, because the best parallels to Georgian glass vessels have been found in the northern Caucasus and the north Pontic area (Fig. 6).

A closer look at the distribution map of the rich burials reveals one striking feature. The burials are located almost exactly along the routes leading to or from the mountain passes. The Kazbegi Treasure, which is probably the earliest so-called Achaemenid find in Georgia, was deposited directly on the road to the "Krestovy mountain pass", the cross-pass, the main connection to the northern Caucasus and to the Eurasian nomads (Fig. 2).

Furthermore, there is evidence not only of Scythian but also of Sauromatian burial goods in the northern Caucasus, such as, for example the spoon from the kurgan of Nartan (Batčaev 1985, fig. 21.18; sixth century BC). In some burials of the Sauromatian/Sarmatian period in the Wolga district "Achaemenid" objects were found, as in Filippovka (Aruz et al. 2000, cat. nos. 93, 94; Jablonskij & Meščerjakov 2007). The "Achaemenid" objects in this region can hardly be regarded as evidence for the presence of Achaemenid control.

Considering the burial rites, as much as the burial goods, of these specific Georgian graves, the influence of the Eurasian nomads can be clearly recognized. But how can we interpret this nomadic influence?

Herodotos (1.106) refers to the repulsion of the Eurasian nomads, the Scythians, by Kyaxares: the Medians made them drunk and killed them. In my opinion, a section of the nomads stayed behind, settled down and became assimilated. Obviously they preferred areas already known to them, such as Transcaucasia.

A combination of the map of the rich Transcaucasian burials (Fig. 2) with a map of Scythian material from the seventh to the sixth century BC (weapons, horse burials, horse harnesses and different objects in the Scythian animal style) (Fig. 7) demonstrates that the rich burials dating from the fifth to the third century BC are distributed throughout almost the same area as the older ones.



Fig. 6. Glass vessels.

1 – Pichvnari 48;

2 – Vani 6;

3 – Kurdžips (1 after Miron & Orthmann 1995, 295, cat. no. 268; 2 after Lordkipanidze 1983, 37, cat. no. 393; 3 after Galanina 1980, 80-81, cat. no. 8).

To summarize, there are several conclusions that can be drawn. Despite the fact that there was no direct border between the area of modern Georgia and central Persia (they were separated by present-day Armenia and Azerbaijan), we have evidence of burials which are proof of some kind of cultural contact with the Persian Empire. However, they do not indicate the character of these contacts – whether they were friendly (so arrived at by trade, gift exchange or payment of toll) or hostile (perhaps the grave contents were loot in the case of defence or offence).

However, the burial types and burial rites were obviously influenced by the Eurasian nomads (that is, people from the Volga district, the northern Caucasus or Siberia). Since the Eurasian nomads were part of the northern Iranian linguistic (and ethnic?) group, most burial goods, such as the drinking vessels (rhyta) and metal cups, are common for both the nomadic people and for other Iranian people, for example the Persians and the Medes. We should remember Aristophanes, who tells of the sweet wine and wine without water drunk at the Persian residence. The very same ceremony is described by Herodotos as a Scythian ritual (6.84).

The only objects of clear Persian origin, without any parallels in the nomadic graves, are the "Ahura-Mazda" medallions (horse harnesses) in Sairche 8 (Nadiradze 1990, pl. 5.3). They should, however, be considered as Persian gifts, rather than proof for a Persian presence in western Transcaucasia.

What are the implications of these observations? Was there a real Persian presence in Georgia, or was there simply contact, or is it that only an influence is discernible?

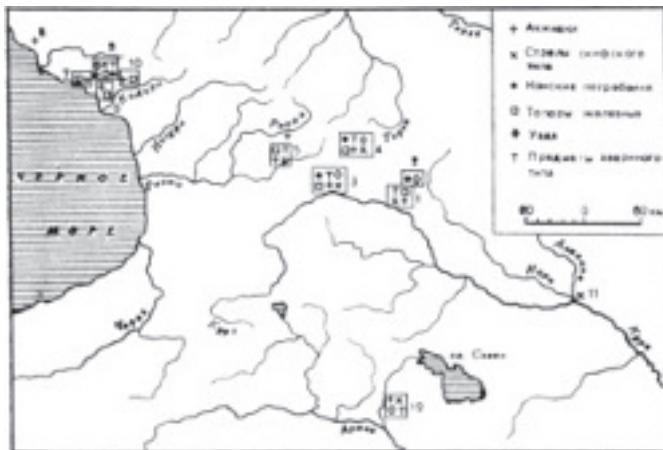


Fig. 7. Scythian finds from the seventh to sixth century BC. 1 – Samtavro; 2 – Cicamuri; 3 – Dvani; 4 – Tli; 5 – Brili; 6 – Kolchida; 7 – Kulanurchva; 8 – Guadichu; 9 – Krasnyj Majak; 10 – Mingečaur; 11 – Tejše baini (after Pogrebova 1981, 45).

1. *Epigraphic/written evidence*: There is no evidence of Persian inscriptions in Georgia like those which have been found in many other places outside central Persia. Only six Achaemenid cylinder seals have been discovered in Georgia, though they were found in burials dated from the fourth to the first century BC (Dzhavakhishvili 2007, 118, 126). On the other hand, there is a mention of "Scythians on the River Phasis" (nowadays Rioni) by Herodotos (6.84).
2. *The onomastic material* is difficult to interpret, since the Eurasian nomads were part of the same ethnic/linguistic group as the Persians.
3. *Coinage*: There is only one find of an Achaemenid sikel in Georgia. It was found in 1856 in the area of Surami (central Georgia), together with some local coins, kolchidki (Golenko 1957, 296). On the other hand, many drachmae of Sinop (fourth century BC) and a few kyzikoi (sixth to fifth century BC) have been discovered (Golenko 1957, 296-297).
4. *Architecture*: There is evidence for the use of mud-bricks – a common building material in the Near East – in Georgia from the Hellenistic period. For the confirmation of the existence of an Achaemenid palace in Gumbati (southeast Georgia) we have – in my opinion – too little evidence.<sup>2</sup>
5. *Burial customs*: Apart from a few burial goods, the burial customs and burial types of the rich Transcaucasian graves are similar to those found in the archaeological material of the Eurasian nomads. As long as no comparable burials are known within the area of modern Iran, there exists no proof for a strong Persian influence.

## Notes

- 1 For a definition of Colchis, see Bill 2003, 37-38.
- 2 F. Knauß (2005, 204) dated the Gumbati “palace” on the basis of the ceramic material “to the later 5th or early 4th c. B.C.” However, the pottery of the second half of the first millennium BC in Georgia is still very poorly investigated. Also N. Ludwig (2005, 215), in her analysis of the ceramic material from eastern Georgia, has pointed out that the fifth and fourth centuries BC are represented only by one archaeological site – Gumbati (“das 5. und 4. Jh.v.Chr. ist lediglich durch einen Fundplatz vertreten – Gumbati”).

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# *Pax Persica* and the Peoples of the Black Sea Region: Extent and Limits of Achaemenid Imperial Ideology

*Maria Brosius*

## *The problem of the historical record*

In contrast to ancient historians studying the Black Sea region in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, archaeologists appear to have a considerable amount of data on which to base scholarly debate. The finds emerging from Georgia and Azerbaijan are particularly striking. But, while archaeologists are able to hold on to undeniable factual evidence for Achaemenid presence in this region in the shape of Achaemenid column bases and entire palace-like structures, the attempt of ancient historians to provide a historical assessment of the Black Sea region in the Achaemenid period resembles a clutching at straws. To be sure, the evaluation of the archaeological evidence is not without its own problems, yet incorporating the Black Sea region into the historical discussion of our period poses a difficult challenge. Amongst other concerns there is a debate over the extent of the Persian controlled area,<sup>1</sup> the exact definition of its borders, the duration of Persian presence, the question of Persian naval communication across the Black Sea, the status of these regions within the Persian political structure, as well as that of the Greek cities of the Black Sea region and Persian rulers.<sup>2</sup>

The following observations aim to address some of these issues and contribute to the discussion on how we are to contextualize the evidence for the Black Sea region during the Achaemenid period and to evaluate the impact of the Persian presence there. To this end, the paper will look at Persian occupation of the west and east coast of the Black Sea, in order to move away from the ancient historian's traditional focus on Thrace.<sup>3</sup> This approach seems appropriate not only in light of the recent evidence which has emerged from Georgia and Azerbaijan in particular, but also in order to view the Black Sea region as a whole<sup>4</sup> – a perspective which may come closer to the way the Persians perceived the region, as opposed to the focus on Thrace which has been determined by the written Greek sources and Greek political interest in the region in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

*The question of the political status of the Black Sea regions*

A central question for the Black Sea regions in the Achaemenid period is that regarding their political status within the Persian Empire and – following from that – whether we can distinguish between the status of satrapies (as governmental and administrative entities) and that of the different peoples a satrapy comprised, and who despite their overall incorporation into the Persian administrative organization were placed at different levels of official recognition. In other words, can we identify a kind of ranking among the different peoples within a satrapy, reflecting the fact that they held different statuses not only amongst themselves, but also in relation to the Persian ruling powers? That such differences existed among the different peoples of the Empire has been noted by Herodotus who remarked that the Ethiopians, the Colchians and their neighbours, as well as the Arabs brought gifts, but did not pay tribute.<sup>5</sup> Josef Wiesehöfer comments on this intriguing phenomenon of subject peoples being only loosely linked to Achaemenid control: “Besonders überraschen mag der Umstand, dass bestimmte Bevölkerungsgruppen offensichtlich eine sehr lockere Verbindung zu den staatlichen Autoritäten pflegen konnten (...).”<sup>6</sup> In the case of the Colchians and Iberians, and, as will be argued here, in the case of the European Thracians, we seem to find a combination between being only “loosely linked” to the Persian system while being incorporated into the satrapal system.<sup>7</sup> This ambiguous status must have had a bearing on the way these peoples were regarded by the Persian king (or, rather, within the Persian political and administrative system). The reasons which may have lain behind such an ambiguous situation of certain peoples could perceptibly be found in an imperial distinction between “centre and periphery”. In regard to the Black Sea regions, however, it will be argued that this distinction can be pinpointed more precisely to a Persian ranking of the subject peoples which was based on the level of state formation.

Turning to the question of the political status of Thrace and the Caucasus region within the Persian Empire we can assert that both regions came under Persian control under Dareios I in the course of the Scythian campaign of 513/512 BC.<sup>8</sup> The current view holds that the Persians integrated the land as far as the Danube in the west and to the Caucasus in the east. For a brief period, some areas beyond these natural borders were also included,<sup>9</sup> but were relinquished after a period of time.<sup>10</sup> As to the level of political incorporation into Persian administration, opinions differ, resulting in conflicting ideas of Thrace and Colchis either as satrapies or as autonomous regions. The views on Colchis are contradictory (with Iberia being hitherto largely omitted from the debate, but assuming on the basis of Hdt. 3.97 that it includes the entire region up to the Caucasus mountains):<sup>11</sup> Against Herodotus' assessment of an only loosely connected Colchis and her neighbours, Bruno Jacobs classifies Colchis as a lesser satrapy under the umbrella of the main satrapy of Armenia.<sup>12</sup> As for Iberia, Burkhard Meissner's erudite analysis of the Greek

and medieval sources for this region allows the conclusion that there is no evidence for the existence of an Iberian Kingdom in the third century BC.<sup>13</sup> Whatever political set-up existed there at that time, it must have been remote from forming a system sufficiently advanced to support a king. Thus it may be argued that, except for the Greek poleis there, no strong form of indigenous government can be identified for the Caucasus region at the time of the Persian occupation. Archaeologically, Persian presence left a decisive mark on the region, especially on Iberia, leading us to assume that there must have been a considerable impact of Achaemenid political and cultural influence there. Continued Achaemenid control until the collapse of the Empire meant that political directives came first and foremost from Persia. On the strength of the archaeological evidence, therefore, Herodotos' assessment cannot be accurate, yet the question of the political status of the Caucasus regions of Colchis and Iberia still remains open.

In regard to Thrace, scholarship has tended to identify the region (together with Macedon) as a satrapy in its own right. A. Fol and N.G.L. Hammond treat the conquest of Thrace as the acquisition of a new satrapy called Skudra.<sup>14</sup> The inhabitants of the satrapy were the Skudra (Thracians), the *Saka paradraya*, or Scythians beyond the sea, identified as the Getae, and the *Yauna takabara*, the Ionians with the shield-like hat, i.e. the Macedonians. Philippopolis, modern Plovdiv, has been tentatively suggested as a satrapal centre.<sup>15</sup> Bruno Jacobs regards Thrace as initially being autonomous, but then being more closely linked to the Empire.<sup>16</sup> How and when this change should have occurred within the 35-year duration of Persian overlordship is not clear. In my view, it is difficult to bring these different statuses into accord with the fact that Thrace is said to have formed part of the main satrapy of Lydia. Herodotos 3.90 mentions the Asian Thracians, but not the European Thracians, in the list of tribute-giving peoples.<sup>17</sup> The Thracians and Macedonians,<sup>18</sup> and the Colchians and their neighbours<sup>19</sup> were obliged to provide military service.<sup>20</sup> European Thrace is also mentioned in the lists of lands of royal inscriptions, including DSe, DNA, DZa-c (Suez canal inscriptions) and XPh. Thracians are identified among the gift-bearers on the Apadana relief, though it is not clear whether these are Asian or European Thracians.<sup>21</sup> However, as has been recognized by several scholars,<sup>22</sup> neither the lists of lands nor the Persepolis reliefs aim to reflect political administrative units, but merely provide an impression of the extent of the realm. As B. Jacobs himself points out, it is Lydia, not Thrace, which is marked in the inscriptions as the northwest corner of the Empire.<sup>23</sup> Equally, Herodotos' list is no accurate reflection of satrapal units. Evidence for Thrace as a separate satrapy then becomes rather slim, not helped by the fact that we cannot conclusively identify a satrap there, only the presence of Megabazos as *strategos*<sup>24</sup> under Dareios I, and both Mascames in Doriskos<sup>25</sup> and Artayctes in Sestus<sup>26</sup> as *hyparchoi* under Xerxes. The terms may have been used by Herodotos to describe the office of satrap, but not exclusively so, as they also appear in a military context referring to commanders of fortresses.

These are the arguments recently put forward by Jan Stronk who thus expresses his scepticism in regard to Thrace's status as a satrapy.<sup>27</sup> He adds his voice to similar concerns expressed by Zofia Archibald.<sup>28</sup> Their view, I think, needs to be given serious consideration. As in the case of Colchis and Iberia, the political status of Thrace within the Persian administration remains unclear. What can be ascertained is that both regions west and east of the Black Sea came under Persian control at the same time. Also, in both cases – though we know even less for the societies of the Caucasus region than we do for those of Thrace – the Persians were dealing with areas wealthy in natural resources, but at an early stage of political development. In Thrace, the beginnings of the Odrysian Kingdom were only just emerging. On the basis of this evaluation it could be argued – and this is the suggestion put forward here – that, unlike the former kingdoms which possessed a fully functioning political organization and administrative set-up when they were reverted into satrapies, or the city-kingdoms which were self-governing and held a semi-autonomous status, the Black Sea regions presented to the Persians societies which had less experience of political self-governance and that this may have been the reason for integrating them into existing satrapies.

There can be no dispute over the contrast which existed between the advanced Persian political and administrative system and the political state of development of Thrace, as the impact of Persian presence there demonstrates: "Das Aufeinandertreffen mit der fortgeschrittenen persischen Zivilisation löste eine intensive Entwicklung der in den Anfängen stehenden staatsbildenden Prozesse in Thrakien aus".<sup>29</sup> Persian impact on the political development of the Caucasus region differed slightly, in that Achaemenid control remained in Iberia until 330 BC and the fact that independent rule only occurred there several centuries later.<sup>30</sup> Yet, if we are to interpret the impressive substantial official-looking buildings in Iberia in particular, Persian presence led to considerable political and economic progress.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast to these regions, the incorporation of former kingdoms into the Persian Empire as satrapies had been achieved with a minimum of effort to alter existing conditions, as centres of administration, an infrastructure and an advanced economic state were well established. The existence of long-established courts meant that there was an aristocracy and a social elite which could be linked to the ruling Persian elite. This could not be said to have been the case for the societies of the Black Sea region, whose ruling elite may have appeared less distinguished than that of the former empires.<sup>32</sup>

If we accept that these regions were incorporated into existing satrapies, not as lesser satrapies, but merely as additional lands, and if the reasons for this were due to the political situation found there at the time of conquest, then the question arises as to whether this did result in a different level of integration of these regions within the Persian political system. In other words, is it possible that, while the satrapies of Armenia and Lydia each held an officially recognized status within the Persian administrative system, this status

might not have been extended to the different peoples belonging to it, or, in the case of the Black Sea regions, adjoined to it?

### *The ideology of pax persica and the Black Sea regions*

A way of assessing whether there was a difference in the treatment of these regions is to investigate to what extent the ideology of the Empire, manifested in the idea of *pax persica*, was applied to them. This ideology emphasized the inclusion of the subject peoples into the Persian imperial organization. The idea to be conveyed was that the individual peoples were part of a whole, which together supported the king. In return, or as a result of this support, the king guaranteed peace in the Empire, i.e. stability for its people. The way to achieve the co-operation of the subject peoples was to respect their cultural, religious and linguistic identity. Judging from the Persepolis reliefs of the Apadana and of the throne-bearing peoples of Naqsh-i Rustam and the 100-Column-Hall, as well as from the royal inscriptions, no seeming distinction was made between core lands and those on the periphery of the Empire. This premise places each people on a seemingly equal footing.<sup>33</sup> Yet, as already pointed out, neither the inscriptions nor the reliefs reflect political administrative units, but are means of propaganda, aiming to give exactly this impression of the "equality" of the different peoples. We ought to be aware, therefore, that these do not represent historical reality.

The ideological inclusion into the Empire, or, if you like, integration, could not succeed merely by maintaining the cultural identity of the peoples, or by representing them officially as equal lands. Something more needed to be offered in order to ensure their co-operation. The idea of *pax persica* could not function with a strict separation between the Persian ruling class and the subject peoples. It required – to an extent and at a certain level – the integration of the local elite into the political apparatus, as local officials and administrators. By bestowing high office and privilege to members of the local aristocracy they were woven into the intrinsic network of the Persian meritocratic system. It included the exchange of gifts fashioned in Achaemenid court art,<sup>34</sup> while mixed marriages between members of the Persian and local elite aided the incorporation of the latter into the Persian "machinery". The example of Amyntas of Macedon giving his daughter Gygea in marriage to Bubares, son of Megabazos,<sup>35</sup> is a good example of this practice occurring at the earliest date after the inclusion of a client-kingdom into the Persian Empire. Beyond that, it also benefited from the king's involvement in cultural and religious life, whether it was his concern for the land's religion, as we see in Egypt or Babylonia, with the king's participation in the Babylonian New Year celebration, or in his concern for the temple in Jerusalem, as well as in the travels to royal residences. It also was apparent in the dissemination of court images, for example the audience scene or the image of the royal hero, which are well attested for the satrapies of western Asia Minor.<sup>36</sup> The "suc-

cessful integration" of the local elite into the Persian ideology may also be grasped in the adoption of Persian values by the local elite, expressed in the depiction of activities such as banqueting and hunting on a variety of media (for example, funerary objects, sarcophagi, tombs).

Perhaps at this point a difference between satrapies and adjoined lands/peoples begins to emerge more clearly: We possess no information as to any attempts at integrating the Thracians into the Persian Empire *at that level*. Likewise, no literary reference exists attesting to the relationship between the Persian ruling elite and the peoples of the Caucasus region. If these regions were regarded as politically less advanced, then their local elite may not have been considered to be on the same level as, say, the elites of Lydia or Babylonia. In the case of Thrace, the fact that the satrapal centre was across the straits in Asia Minor, and thus physically separated, possibly added a further obstacle to achieve affinity with Achaemenid political life. No Achaemenid building structure has so far been excavated in Thrace. Being forced to withdraw from the region after ca. 35 years meant that possible ties with the Odrysian court could not be forged.<sup>37</sup>

The case of Colchis and Iberia is outwardly decidedly different from that of Thrace, as the physical remains of official Achaemenid-style buildings point to a direct presence of Achaemenid officials. The archaeological evidence in the Caucasus region suggests that the Persians invested far more in terms of assuring their presence, and, if the administrative buildings signal anything to go by, would have provided the possibility of local involvement in this administration. But in this case, the extension of the Armenian satrapy posed no difficulty. Geophysically, it was much easier to integrate the Caucasus region into the Empire by extending the overland routes from Armenia. And, of course, Achaemenid control remained until the end of the Empire. Yet regardless of the different intensity of Persian building activities in both regions, politically they were regarded at the same level, in that both became part of another satrapy, and in both cases we may identify a less developed political society as a reason for this decision. Both regions may have been secured by the Persians for their strategic and economic importance. Politically of lesser interest, the Persians may have foregone the opportunity to integrate European Thrace into the Persian ideological thinking in the ca. 35 years of Persian control there.

#### *The Persians and the Greek cities of the Black Sea region*

One further point ought to be made. Within the debate about the Black Sea region in the Achaemenid period the question of the possible impact Persian presence might have had on the Greek cities of the Black Sea region is rarely considered. The cities may have been politically autonomous, but economically they were dependent on the local hinterland and thus there must have been at least indirect Persian influence on these communities. Our main glimpse

onto Greek-Persian contact there is through the fine Achaemenizing luxury metalware produced by Greek craftsmen for their local clientele. Few objects can be identified as deriving directly from Achaemenid craftsmen; most have been produced locally, merely pointing to the existence of a close contact with Persian goldsmiths and silversmiths at some point in time. Select Achaemenid motifs and Achaemenid-style vessels (phialae, rhyta, jugs) as well as jewellery (bracelets, torques, earrings) appear from the mid-fifth century onwards in Thrace, indicating an adaptation of Persian luxury objects after the Persian retreat from there.<sup>38</sup> Such objects likewise are amply represented for the Caucasus region and the north Pontic coast. The finds from all around the Black Sea of Persian-inspired luxury objects show that an intensive Persian-Greek exchange must have taken place at the level of artistic ideas and metal production on the demand of the Thracians, Scythians and Caucasians. Thus, through the Greek craftsmen and the production of Achaemenizing luxury goods in many of the Greek cities of the Pontos we may identify these as a key figure in the interaction between Persia and the local region.

Many of the objects appear in the context of the court, especially the court of the Odrysian kings. The Greek inscriptions on phialae naming Thracian kings are reminiscent of the inscribed phialae and other vessels of the Persian kings, and may allude to their similar use as royal gifts as a practice adopted from Persia. Other objects, like the rhyta, were adapted into shapes very different from the Persian original and may hint at an independent artistic development.<sup>39</sup>



Fig. 1. Ring with the figure of a seated Persian carved in intaglio. Gold; cast and carved. Length of bezel 2.3cm. Bosporan Kingdom, Pantikapaion. Late fifth century BC. Inv. no. P-1854.26. Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

While the production of known luxury goods related to the court and courtly banquets fits in with the demand for Achaemenizing objects in the Greek world, I should like to draw attention to one object which is not easily identified as Achaemenid court art. It is a gold ring from Pantikapaion, dated to ca. 420-400 BC (Fig. 1). Produced in a Greek workshop, the ring bears a Greek inscription, "Athenades", but its image appears Persian, depicting a seated male figure wearing Persian dress, with trousers and tunic, and a soft cap, checking his arrow with his bow beside him.<sup>40</sup> This image pre-dates by ca. 50 years that on the coins of Datames, whose striking similarity allows the assumption that both images either must have been based on the same original or the motif of the Pantikapaion ring itself provided the model for the later Persian coins. Who created this image of the foreigner as a seated bowman, which is absent in Achaemenid imperial iconography but finds first expression in a Greek artefact? We are dealing here with an object, made by a Greek, for a (Greek?) client of the north Black Sea market, of a Persian depicted in a hitherto unknown scene. It is intriguing to ask what this might be telling us in regard to the possible influence – artistic and otherwise – of the Pontic Greeks on Persian culture.

## Notes

- 1 Cf. Fol & Hammond 1988; Archibald 1994.
- 2 Cf. Fol & Hammond 1988, 247.
- 3 The regions at the southern Pontic shore, Bithynia and Paphlagonia, belonged to the satrapies of Phrygia-on-the-Hellespont and Kappadokia respectively. Bithynia was the home of the Asian Thracians. For Persian influence on Paphlagonian art, see von Gall 1966.
- 4 Cf. Fol & Hammond 1988, 239: "Rather, the area from central Thrace to Georgia and from the Ukraine to the north-east Mediterranean formed a whole with mutual economic interests between Scythians and Ionians or Thracians and Iranians".
- 5 Hdt. 3.97. Cf. Wiesehöfer 1993, 99.
- 6 Wiesehöfer 1993, 97.
- 7 According to Jacobs (2006), Colchis was part of the main satrapy of Armenia, with its eastern extension unknown, while Thrace was one of several satrapies presided over by Lydia. Jacobs points out that despite Thrace being mentioned in the lists of lands, it is the main satrapies which are named as the corners of the Empire, Kushya/Nubia, Hindush/India, Suguda/Sogdia and Sparda/Lydia. In his assessment, Skudra was initially autonomous with Amyntas of Macedon as *hyparchos* (Hdt. 5.17-20), but was then more firmly linked to the Empire (Jacobs 2006). Yet the sites and types of buildings excavated in Georgia and Azerbaijan contradict the idea of this region being only loosely connected (cf. Knauss 2001; Knauss et al. this volume).
- 8 The case for a two-sided attack is made by Jacobs 2000.
- 9 Hdt. 4.124. Dareios crossed the Danube and built fortifications at the Oaros, variously identified, but possibly the Sal river (Jacobs 2000, 96).
- 10 Jacobs 2000, 98. In the west the Persians returned to the Danube, in the east the border was marked by the fortifications at the Sal river. The time of the loss of

the area north of the Caucasus is unknown, but is thought to have occurred in the early fifth century (Jacobs 2000, 99). Even the area south of the Danube had to be defended from Scythian attacks after the conquest of 513/512 BC.

- 11 Hdt. 3.97: “(...) the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasus mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians)”.
- 12 He identifies a “Kleinsatrapie” of Colchis as part of the “Hauptstrapie” Armenia, which only for a brief period may have been under Persian control.
- 13 Meissner 2000; cf. Furtwängler 2000.
- 14 Briant 2002, 145 refers to a “Thracian-Macedonian satrapy”.
- 15 Fol & Hammond 1988, 247.
- 16 Jacobs in press.
- 17 Hdt. 3.96 states vaguely that Dareios received tribute from the peoples in Europe as far as Thessaly.
- 18 Hdt. 7.185.
- 19 Hdt. 7.79.
- 20 Only the Asian Thracians pay tribute according to Hdt. 3.90: the Hellespontians on the right side of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians and Syrians, paying 360 talents of tribute, forming the third satrapy. In regard to military service, Hdt. 7.75 (after listing the Paphlagonians, Phrygians and Lydians) states that the Thracians wore fox-skin caps and tunics, and were equipped with javelins, little shields and daggers. They were commanded by Bassakes, son of Artabanus. According to Hdt. 7.79, the Mares and Colchians were commanded by Phanadates son of Teaspis. They appear alongside the Alarodians and Saspares, commanded by Masistius son of Siromitres.
- 21 Cf. Fol & Hammond 1988, 247; Briant 2002, 145.
- 22 Wiesehöfer 1993: 94-95; Briant 2002, 177.
- 23 DH 4-6; DPh 5-8.
- 24 Hdt. 4.143, 5.14.
- 25 Hdt. 7.105-106.
- 26 Hdt. 9.116.
- 27 The reason, however, as Jan P. Stronk argues, can hardly be because “the Persians evidently lacked sufficient power to exercise effective control” (Stronk 1998-1999, 68). Surely, it cannot be suggested that an empire with unlimited resources of military and administrative power, with equally unlimited material resources reaching from the Indus valley to Egypt, lacked the power to control a region of the size and political formation such as Thrace?
- 28 Archibald 1998, 79-90, 102.
- 29 Kitov 2007, 39. Cf. Fol & Hammond 1988.
- 30 See the discussion by Meissner (2000).
- 31 See also the contribution by Knauss et al. this volume.
- 32 One problem is the lack of literary sources outside some core satrapies of the Empire (Persis, Babylonia, Egypt) which would shed light on the introduction of administrative mechanisms. The recently published material from Bactria gives us a glimpse of the administrative procedures which were introduced in eastern Iran during the fifth and fourth centuries (Shaked 2003). We possess nothing comparable for the Black Sea region, and the reason for this deficiency may confirm that these regions were integrated into other satrapies and thus part of larger administrative units. As later on Thracian kings adopted the Greek script

as their official language, while their court was modelled on that of the Persian king, the question is, where did the Thracians place themselves?

33 That said, when looking more closely at these official monuments of Persian ideology it is somewhat striking that for some regions, including Thrace, the otherwise systematic grouping of lands seems partially suspended. The last peoples in DNA are listed as European Scythians, Thrace, *petasos*-wearing Ionians, Libya, Ethiopia, Makran, Carians, while on the Apadana reliefs the Thracians (European or Asian?), Arabs, Carians(?), Libyans, and Ethiopians take their place not on the central panel, but in smaller scale on the wall of the staircase. This arrangement may be far from accidental. Their position at the end of the list of peoples may be a reflection of the campaigns undertaken by Dareios I, but it is also possible that these are peoples who held a different status among the lands of the Empire.

34 The one genuine Achaemenid artefact found in Thrace is the amphora-rhyton from Duvanlij (National Archaeological Institute and Museum, Sofia, inv. no. 6173).

35 Hdt. 5.18.1, 21.2.

36 Cf. Kaptan 1996.

37 A fact which does not exclude the Odrysian kings' modelling of their court on that of the Achaemenids; see below fn 39.

38 For a survey of the artistic influence on gold and silver objects from Thrace, see Archibald 1989.

39 For the change in understanding and use of Achaemenid objects, see Ebbinghaus 1999.

40 Hermitage P.1854.26. The suggestion was made during the conference discussion that the figure could be Scythian rather than Persian, which remains possible. But even if we take it as a generic image of the "barbarian", the fact still remains that the later Persian coins of Datames bear a striking similarity to this image and that therefore this Greek artistic creation became a model for Persian art.

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# The Labraunda Sphinxes

*Anne Marie Carstens*

## *The sanctuary at Labraunda*

The local rulers of the Hekatomnid dynasty, Maussollos and Idrieus, renovated the rural sanctuary dedicated to the local Karian Zeus Labraundos in the mountains north of Mylasa in Karia in the fourth century BC.<sup>1</sup> The Hekatomnids were Persian satraps in the newly-established satrapy of Karia and they acted as both local kings and as representatives of the hegemonic power, the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

The closest<sup>2</sup> references to Achaemenid iconography in Labraunda are the two sphinxes found in 1953 in the cella of andron C and in 1960 southeast of andron B, respectively. Originally they served as corner acroteriae on andron B.<sup>3</sup> As can be seen from the drawing of the restored façade of the andron, they add quite a prominent, seemingly foreign, element to the ostensibly traditional Greek ante-style façade of the building (Fig. 1).

I have recently argued that the sanctuary at Labraunda, and in particular the androns of Maussollos and Idrieus, andron B and andron A, had a palatial function.<sup>4</sup> The androns served as audience halls, and therefore the architecture and decoration of the buildings were loaded with ideological content. This is not least the case with the sphinxes.



*Fig. 1. The façade of andron A, reconstruction drawing (Gunter 1995, fig. 6).*



Fig. 2. The Labraunda sphinx (photo by the author).

### *The sphinxes*

Only part of the head of one of the sphinxes was found. The other is far better preserved, so that it is possible to discern its original posture and general appearance, although it is heavily weathered (Fig. 2).

It is a strange sphinx.<sup>5</sup> Peculiarly archaic and severe, the long beard is depicted as a mass with regular grooves cut into it – and also the line between the beard and chest and neck is indicated by a groove. Quite a long moustache breaks the massive impression of the beard and emphasizes the lip line. The hair above the forehead is rolled up and frames the face in a semicircle; two symmetrically arranged long locks of slightly curly hair fall on the shoulders. On the head are a *polos* and fillet.

Likewise, the body and legs of the animal are quite summarily modelled, and details on the wings are again indicated more by cuttings than by modelling. It is all very impressive. Severe and powerful, the sphinx guards the building, adding symmetry and a certain amount of ruthlessness.

### *Persian counterparts*

It is clear that the Labraunda sphinxes draw on Persian counterparts, known from court art, where male bearded sphinxes act as guards, for instance at the palace of Dareios in Persepolis, or on stamp seals, often centred around a winged sun disc symbolizing or referring to Ahuramazda.<sup>6</sup> Of particular interest is a group of fifth century BC seals produced in the western Empire.

Fig. 3. Fragment of a head from the Eschmun sanctuary at Sidon (Stucky 2005, Taf. 11.B40).



Here, heraldic or single royal sphinxes are among the decorations of the seals. Some of the seals are inscribed with Lydian names, and they were probably produced and used in Lydia by the satrapal administration.<sup>7</sup> This means that the motif was not unknown and the reference to the Achaemenid, satrapal administration was probably clearly understood.

### *Sphinxes at Sidon*

Three male, bearded heads, quite similar to the Labraunda sphinxes, were found in the Eschmun sanctuary at Sidon (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> Because of their likeness, they even bear a *polos* and fillet, they have been suggested as corner acroteriae on the amphi-prostyle temple in the sanctuary.

The sanctuary at Sidon shares many features with the sanctuary in Labraunda regarding the architectural details of the temple.<sup>9</sup> And an interpretation of the entire complex as a royal representation, with a palatial function, has convincingly been presented.<sup>10</sup>

### *Zeus Labraundos*

Persian court art is not the only analogy evoked by these guardian sphinxes, they indeed also represent an important reference to the sanctuary in which they belong. The Labraunda sphinxes both carry a *polos* and fillet, and they each have two long locks of slightly curly hair arranged symmetrically over each shoulder. There can be little doubt that these elements were meant to evoke the ancient cult image of Zeus Labraundos (Fig. 4). In this way, the seemingly very Persian sphinxes all the same reveal their embedding in the ancient cult at Labraunda. When attending one of the banquets in Labraunda,



*Fig. 4. Zeus Labraundos depicted on a column base kept in the Bodrum Museum (photo by the author).*

the participant was under the protection and surveillance of the force of the Achaemenid Empire as well as that of Zeus Labraundos.

The architectural wrapping of the official, palatial quarters of Labraunda, the androns, underlined the Hekatomnid ideological iconography that played on a multitude of strings. It alluded and referred to a vast number of relations that all pulled in the same direction, embellishing the king as a blessed one. It was deeply rooted in an Anatolian tradition, yet oriented towards newer fields of interest, politically as well as culturally, and completely intertwined.

The androns were built as a Greek antestyle temple, yet followed the plan of the old Anatolian/Phrygian palaces at Gordion.<sup>11</sup> They were decorated with corner acroteriae both referring to the Persian guardian sphinxes of the palaces of the Persian heartland and to the old Anatolian cult image of Zeus Labraundos. This reception hall inside the sanctuary of the local Zeus was used by the Hekatomnid satrap and the king of the Karians.<sup>12</sup>

In his publication of the Eschmun sanctuary, Rolf Stucky characterizes the style of the complex as "Phoenician eclecticism".<sup>13</sup> "Karian eclecticism" may likewise be used as a general description of Labraunda.<sup>14</sup>

I am convinced that Labraunda was the key sanctuary for the Hekatomnids, that they staged and used the rural site as an extended palace, it being suited for processions, audiences and banquets in a magnificent setting. The sphinxes concurrently demonstrated the Achaemenid presence, that meant an Achaemenid will to protect and preserve the Hekatomnids as satraps, and that the standing Persian army had secured this outstanding position, while Zeus Labraundos both accepted the rulership and blessed the ruler.<sup>15</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Cf. Hornblower 1982, 59-62; Hellström 1991.
- 2 And perhaps also the only fairly clear example. Although Ann C. Gunter suggested that the relief depicting a Persian chariot may be an Iranian dedication, the style of that relief is quite *en vogue* with fourth century BC Greek sculpture, most prominently represented on the Maussolleion (Gunter 1995, 29, 38-41).
- 3 Gunter 1995, 21-30.
- 4 Carstens 2009; Carstens forthcoming a.
- 5 See Gunter 1995, 21-24 for a detailed description.
- 6 Gunter 1995, 24-29 provides a detailed interpretation of the sphinxes in Achaemenid and western Anatolian contexts.
- 7 Boardman 1970; Dusinberre 2003, 163-164, *et passim* chapter 7.
- 8 Stucky 1988; Stucky 2005, 66-68.
- 9 Stucky 2005, 85-86.
- 10 Stucky 2005, 195-200.
- 11 Carstens 2009, chapter four.
- 12 On this office and the Karian federations, see Hornblower 1982, 55-67; Carstens 2009; Carstens forthcoming a.
- 13 Stucky 2005, 200-203.
- 14 On this eclecticism, or rather on creolization as a Hekatomnid strategy, see Carstens forthcoming b.
- 15 Sekunda 1991, 88-91.

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# Recent Investigations of the Ulski Kurgans

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The area of the Ulski kurgans is a key site of the Scythian epoch in southern Russia. Their chronological position is very important: the earlier kurgans border the Kelermes kurgans, the later ones the Semibratnee kurgans.

Investigation of this site began in 1898, when Professor Nikolai Veselovsky of the St Petersburg University excavated two of the Ulski kurgans.<sup>1</sup> He returned to the site in 1908 and 1909. Veselovsky excavated a total of nine Ulski kurgans.<sup>2</sup> Only one of the kurgans, occupied at the time by a Čerkassian cemetery, was excavated over 70 years later by Alexander Leskov.<sup>3</sup> Another small mound (kurgan 11) was destroyed during road construction in those same years.

At present, the material from the Ulski kurgans is located in three museums in Russia. The finds from Veselovsky's excavations were divided between two museums: the State Historical Museum in Moscow and the State Hermitage in St Petersburg. The finds from Leskov's excavations are kept in the State Museum of Oriental Art in Moscow. Currently, the collections from the Ulski kurgans are being prepared for publication and these will hopefully appear soon.

Of course, the work of the collective authors, one of them myself, does not mark the scientific conclusion of this incredible site, but rather serves as a stimulus for further study by future generations of specialists. In this contribution, I will only be touching upon three key questions related to this monument: its chronology, its function and the question of metallurgical workshops of the early Achaemenid period.

## *The chronology of the site*

The Ulski group belongs to a complex of archaeological monuments of the Scythian period situated in and around Aul Ulyap in the Republic of Adygea (Fig. 1). One kilometre to the west of this group, at the western edge of Ulyap, stands a group of kurgans, one of which was excavated by N.I. Veselovsky in 1910 and revealed material contemporaneous with the oldest group of Kelermes kurgans (the third quarter of the seventh century BC).<sup>4</sup> A kilometre east of the Ulski kurgans stands the no-less-famous Ulyap kurgan shrines of the first half of the fourth century BC, together with flat grave burials of the Scythian period.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is possible to suggest that the raised left terrace of the Laba river was assimilated by the local population moving from west to east.



Fig. 1. *Sites of the Scythian period around Aul Ulyap.*

The collections from the Ulski kurgans, located in three museums as outlined above, can be divided into four chronological periods.

1. The oldest of the Ulski kurgans is kurgan 1/1908 (Fig. 3). Its collection includes Archaic iron triple-looped cheekpieces and bronze bits with stirrup-shaped ends. These items find parallels in the cast ornaments from the Younger Kelermes group (excavated by D.G. Schults). This horizon shows a series of similarities with finds from kurgan 16 of the Novozavedennoe burial complex in the Stavropol region. This kurgan produced two northern Ionian vessels – an oinochoe and a stemmed cup, which dates from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth century BC.<sup>6</sup> Kurgan 1/1908 can therefore be dated to around the first half of the sixth century BC.

2. The second chronological horizon includes kurgans 2 and 3/1908, 1 and 2/1909 (Figs. 4, 5), as well as the kurgan excavated by Leskov in 1982 (Fig. 6). These kurgans already show another horse-bridle system – here we find double-perforated cheekpieces, the transition to which, in our opinion, takes place in the middle of the sixth century BC. A fragment from a triple-looped cheekpiece was found only in one kurgan (10/1982) (Fig. 6.7), and double-perforated ones are prevalent here. The kurgans are quite closely related to each other, with close similarities not only in the bridle gear but also amongst a number of gold ornaments – separator beads, zoomorphic and geometric plaques. Bronze finial pairs shaped like the heads of birds of prey come from kurgan 2/1909 (Fig. 5.10) and kurgan 10/1982 (Fig. 6.11-12), the latter apparently having originated first.



Fig. 2. Plan of the Ulski kurgans.

Even though we find a large number of precious metal items in these plundered kurgans, Greek imports are non-existent in this chronological group. The only eastern Greek import in the Ulyap area is a Rhodian-Ionian kylix, with a stick-like ornament, of this period, found in an Ulyap flat grave burial of the same date as these kurgans.<sup>7</sup>

3. The third chronological horizon includes kurgans 1/1898 (the Great Ulski kurgan) and 2/1898, which brought forth Attic imports from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BC – fragments of kylikes (Fig. 7.2), a siphon (Fig. 7.14) and a fragment of a closed vessel (a hydria or an amphora). According to Irina Ksenofontova, who studied the Greek imports from the Ulski kurgans, these items penetrated the deepest regions of the Kuban interior as a result of the second phase of Athenian colonization at the end of the sixth to the first third of the fifth century BC.<sup>8</sup>

4. Kurgan 11 of the Ulski group, the small mound of which was demolished during construction work, would seem to be somewhat later (Fig. 8). The bridle types found here can be dated with certainty within the fifth century BC.<sup>9</sup> A cheekpiece plaque from this complex (Fig. 8.10) finds its parallel in a plaque from the fourth Semibratnee kurgan and burial 16 of kurgan 5 in Kriviya Luka VIII in the Volga region.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, the chronology of the Ulski kurgans is such that a large part of the complex relates to the rise and peak of Achaemenid rule. I will discuss the possible appearance of Achaemenid influence at the end of this paper.

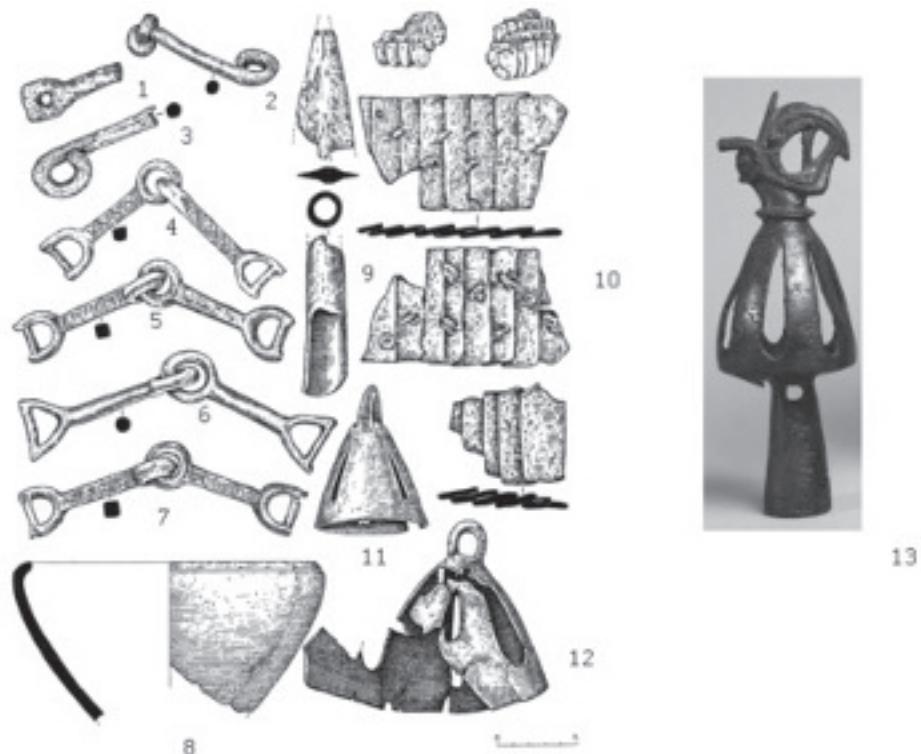


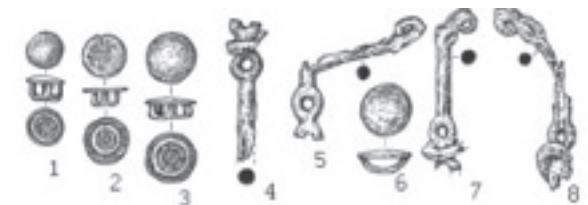
Fig. 3. Items from kurgan 1/1908. First chronological horizon.

#### *The function of the kurgans*

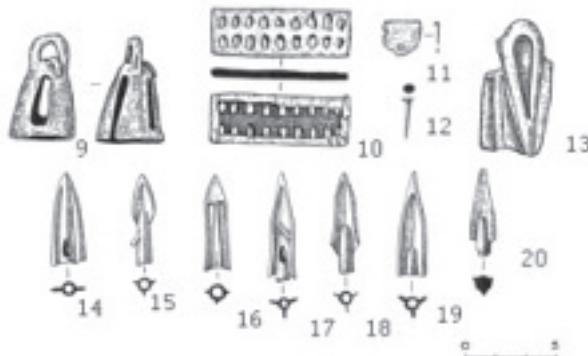
Another equally important question regards the function and topography of the kurgan group. For a long time, the Ulski kurgans were considered classic burial monuments of the Scythian culture of the northern Caucasus territory. Even now, most experts consider these kurgans to be burial complexes that continue the Kelermes tradition and date them to the sixth to fifth century BC.<sup>11</sup>

A.M. Leskov challenged this point of view in 1982, when he excavated the only kurgan left untouched by Professor Veselovsky – kurgan 10. The kurgan turned out to be a shrine and not a burial complex after all.<sup>12</sup> An approximately 1m high earthen platform was uncovered below the kurgan fill. Its flat surface had a diameter of 20m, and a levelled ramp led up to it from the south.

In the centre of the structure, a wooden framework was uncovered (Fig. 6.1), inside which the ritual platform had been erected. A large bronze cauldron



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Fig. 4. Items from kurgan 1/1909. Second chronological horizon.

(Fig. 6.16), two piles of little bronze bells and details from bridle headpieces were found on the platform, most of which had already been plundered. The remains of 29 horse sacrifices were found lying around the ritual platform and covered with a wooden roof.

The entrance to the structure was from the south, where there was a breach in the wall. Here, two flat bronze finials (Fig. 6.11-12) were also found. Judging by the bridle gear from this kurgan, it can be dated to the second half of the sixth century BC. Following the excavation of this kurgan, and also that of the Great Ulski kurgan 1/1898, experts began to interpret it as a shrine.<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that Veselovsky did not mention the remains of human bones or burial pits or graves anywhere in his reports on the Ulski kurgans.

At the same time, ritual complexes and complex shrines, originating as early as the Protomeotian period,<sup>14</sup> are typical of Meotian archaeological culture.<sup>15</sup> At present, we know of approximately 40 such sites. The closest ones to the Ulski kurgans, in geographical terms, are the kurgan shrines of the Ulyap necropolis of the first half of the fourth century BC<sup>16</sup> and the shrines in the Tenginskaya II necropolis 10km north of Ulyap (second half of the fourth century BC).<sup>17</sup>



Fig. 5. Items from kurgan 2/1909. Second chronological horizon.

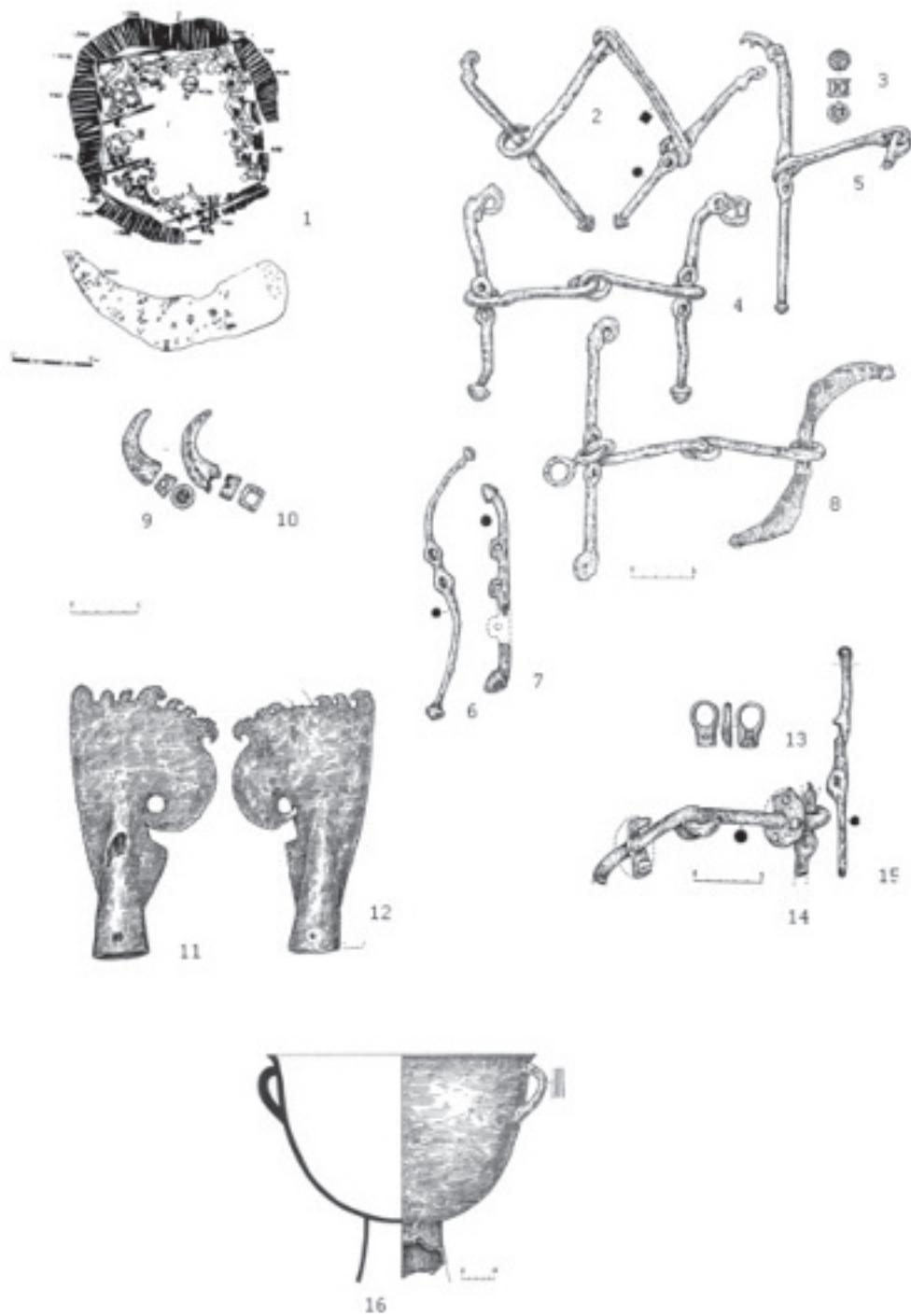
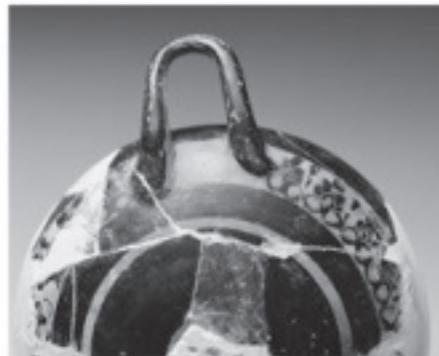


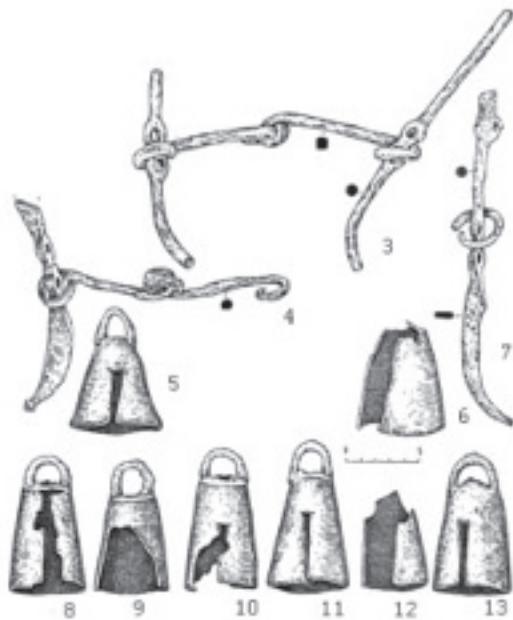
Fig. 6. Items from kurgan 10/1982. Second chronological horizon.



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Fig. 7. Items from kurgan 1 (1-2) and 2 (3-14) 1898. Third chronological horizon.



Fig. 8. Items from kurgan 11/1983. Fourth chronological horizon.

In their 1996 abstracts, A.M. Leskov and L.K. Galanina suggested that the Ulski kurgan group had a dual character. In the central and western parts shrines were constructed – kurgan 10 and the Great Ulski kurgan (1/1898). Relying on Veselovsky's sporadic and rather unclear observations, Leskov and Galanina suggested that the kurgans were constructed starting from the east and that the earlier kurgans were built as burial complexes and situated in the eastern part of the kurgan group. The easternmost kurgan – kurgan 1/1908 – the finds from which are located in the depots of the State Hermitage Museum – is contemporaneous with the materials from the Schults kurgans of the Kelermes burial ground.<sup>18</sup>

In the summer of 2007, investigation of the remains of the kurgan mound with its “deep trench from the south” – the result of Veselovsky's excavation – was undertaken by the Caucasus Archaeological Expedition of the State Museum of Oriental Art, funded by the Russian Foundation for the Humanities. Leskov considered this easternmost Ulski kurgan to be kurgan 1/1908.

Our investigation revealed the remains of a tent-like structure supported by beams in the mound (Fig. 9). The “tent” had been constructed above a wooden canopy erected at the level of the ancient horizon. The remains of four horses were found in the western part of the canopy, where Veselovsky's trenches had not cut through. They were lying in a circle around a unique “halter”, which was covered with wood and reeds.

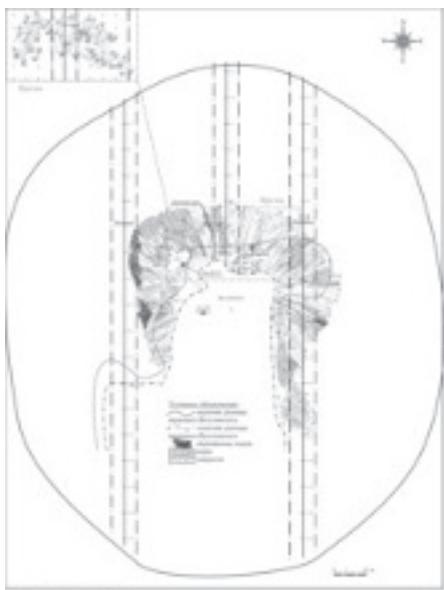


Fig. 9. Plan of kurgan 1/2007.

Two of the horses had iron looped bits (Fig. 10.2-3). A bone looped strap-separator was found along with the horse-bits of one of these horses (Fig. 10.1). It is an imitation of the bronze "Sialk"-type separators and is the first such find of its kind in the Kuban region. Parallels are known from the Novozavadennoe II kurgans 8 and 9, which V.G. Petrenko attributes to the early group from this cemetery and dates to the first half of the seventh century BC.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, similar bone strap-separators have been found in Archaic complexes of the Ukrainian forest steppes – in zolnik (ash mound) 12 of the Belskoe settlement,<sup>20</sup> as well as in the Zhurovka 448, Raigorod 1 and Aksyutintsi 2 kurgans.<sup>21</sup>

In the northern part of the kurgan, also left untouched by the trench, a heap of pottery sherds was found (including a large clay "korchaga" (Fig. 10.4) and also animal bones). These finds show the typological unity of this kurgan with kurgan 10/1982. No remains of a burial pit or human bones were found in our kurgan. Therefore, kurgan 1/2007 is also a ritual complex, similar to kurgan 10/1982.

A few golden application plaques and one separator plaque were found in Veselovsky's trench (Fig. 10.5-16). In shape and size they fully correspond to the golden ornaments found in kurgan 2/1909 and now in the State Hermitage Museum (Fig. 10.17-23). This is especially true of the two golden plaques each shaped like a mountain goat with legs folded beneath and the head turned to the back (Fig. 10.6, 10.16, 10.22). Both these plaques (the one in the Hermitage and the one discovered in 2007) were made using the same stamp.

In addition, the clip plaque from the 2007 kurgan (Fig. 10.11) is completely identical to the two clips from the 1909 kurgan 2 which are now in the State

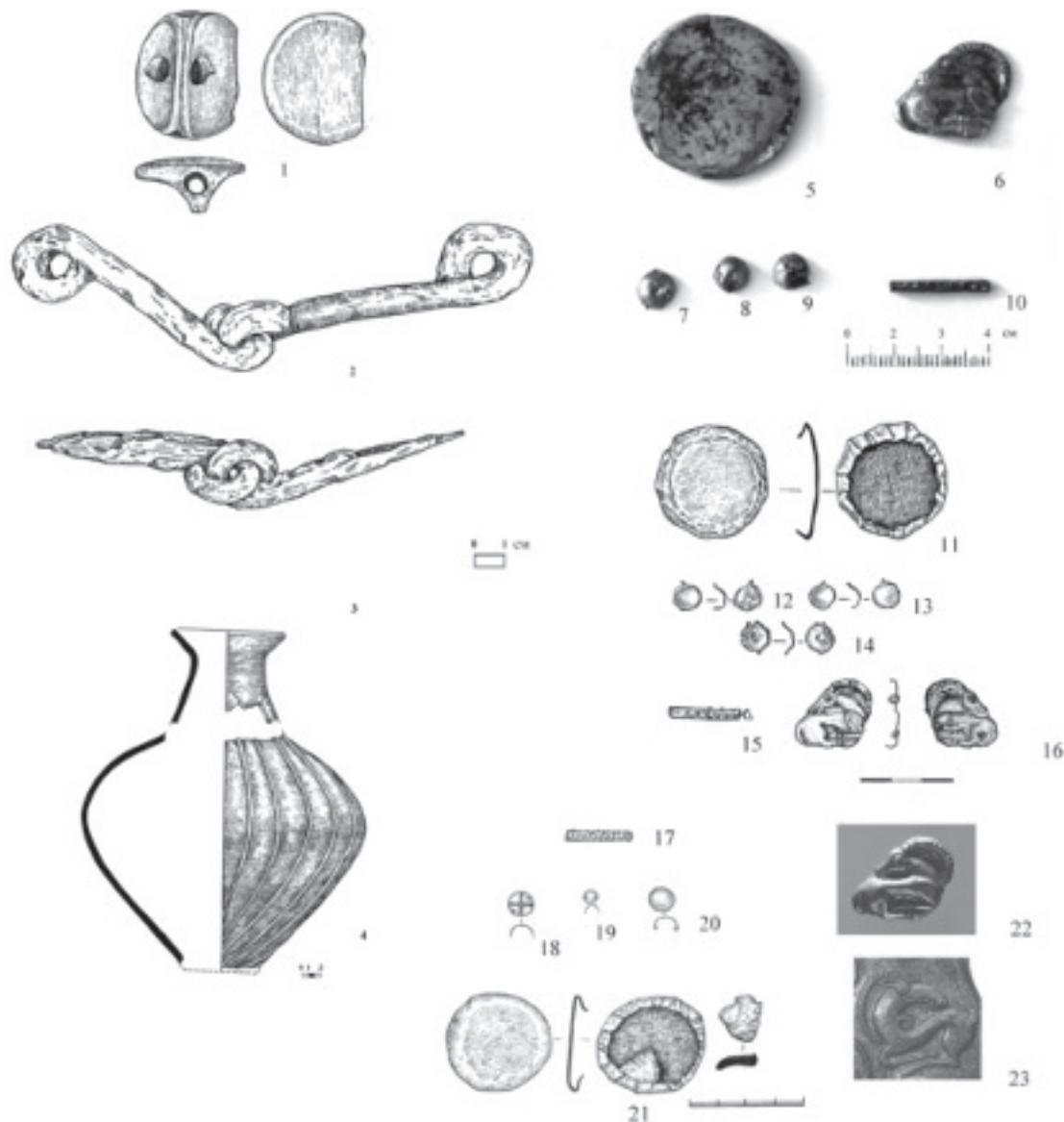


Fig. 10. Items from kurgan 1/2007 and Hermitage collection (kurgan 2/1909). 1-16 – kurgan 1/2007; 17-23 – kurgan 2/1909 (State Hermitage Museum).

Hermitage Museum (Fig. 10.21), on one of which the bone insertion was preserved.<sup>22</sup> Similar clips from the Ulski group have only been found in this kurgan. A close analogy to both clips comes from the Novozavedennoe II kurgan 6, belonging to the bridle gear of horse no. 1. The authors date this kurgan

to the sixth century BC.<sup>23</sup> The Ulski clips may have also served as bridle-gear ornaments.

The 2007 kurgan is therefore definitely connected to the finds from kurgan 2/1909. It is from this very kurgan that we have the famous Ulski finial shaped like the head of a bird of prey with a corresponding relief depiction of a mountain goat with its head turned back (Fig. 10.23), as well as the unique silver phalarae and cheekpieces, which will be discussed later on.

Judging by Veselovsky's fragmentary reports, he was excavating in the vicinity of the Great Ulski kurgan in 1909, in other words, in the central or western part of the kurgan group.<sup>24</sup> This means that either Veselovsky's reports are not quite correct, or that a mistake was made when the finds were taken to the Hermitage. Based on the most recent results, it can be suggested that ritual complexes were set up in both the western and eastern parts of the Ulski kurgan group. It is quite probable that the entire kurgan group was not meant for burials.

Leskov's suggestion that the kurgans were constructed starting in the east and moving westwards could not be confirmed. The earliest Ulski find group comes from kurgan 1/1908, which dates to the beginning of the sixth century BC and was not found beneath the easternmost mound.

### *The Ulski kurgans and early Achaemenids*

In later times, we find Achaemenid items and items born of Achaemenid prototypes in the Ulyap kurgan shrines of the first half of the fourth century BC, located 1km away from the Ulski kurgans. This influence can be seen as having occurred in parallel with the entry of Greek imports into this area. The Ulski kurgans, based on their chronology, are related to the pre-Achaemenid and early Achaemenid periods. Nonetheless, there is reason to question the possible ancient Iranian influences at this site.

First we should consider the "Sialk"-type strap-separators. In her time, I.N. Medvedskaya used these separators for crossed-reign straps with a round plaque for dating burial 15 of Sialk site B (Fig. 11.1).<sup>25</sup> She presented central European parallels dating to the HAB3-C period and thus dated the complex to the middle of the eighth century BC.<sup>26</sup> Similar separator plaques are typical for central Europe (the Füzeshabony type according to J. Chochorowski).

Chochorowski lists ten sites where similar strap-separators have been found.<sup>27</sup> In the Black Sea region, strap-separators are found in Protomeotian and Chernogorovka complexes, for example in Pshish I burial 51 (Fig. 11.2).<sup>28</sup> Such strap-separators are not found in early Scythian monuments of the Kelermes period. Therefore, we can speak of a break in this tradition. Such strap-separators are also unknown in central Europe at this time.

However, the Ulski kurgans, specifically the find complexes from kurgan 2/1898, 1/1909 and 10/1982, contain bronze strap-separators with five perforations and a flat or slightly swollen plaque of silver, bronze and iron

(Fig. 11.6-9).<sup>29</sup> The appearance of such separator plaques for bridle gear in the second half of the sixth century BC can be considered as the “renaissance” of the “Sialk”-type strap-separator tradition.

We suggest that this tradition continued in Iran and spread again together with pre-Achaemenid and early Achaemenid influence. The golden bridle strap-separators from the Amu-Darya hoard, brought to attention by Peter Calmeyer, could serve as evidence of this (Fig. 11.5).<sup>30</sup> Strap-separators of a similar form were founded in Pasargadae (Fig. 11.3-4).<sup>31</sup>

A similar “renaissance” can be seen in another type of bridle strap-separator: the “Kammenomostskaja”-type beak-shaped separator. Ancient bronze beak-shaped strap-separators are found in complexes as early as the first half of the seventh century BC. These have a slightly bent beak and a perforation, which simultaneously serves as the bird’s eye. Such strap-separators were found in the Kamennomoskaja complex of 1921 (Fig. 11.12).

We have already looked at the stylistic closeness of the Kamennomoskaja strap-separators and earlier examples from Kelermes, Nartan and Krasnoznamenski kurgan I (Fig. 11.12-15) to the pre-Scythian sceptres shaped as birds’ heads (Fig. 11.11), well known from finds from central Europe and the central Caucasus. Based on this, we suggest an eastern European origin of this Scythian animal-style motif. It marks the early Kelermes phase and is no longer found in complexes dated from the end of the seventh to the first half of the sixth century BC.

At the same time, horse bridles using beak-shaped strap-separators are well known in Achaemenid Iran, on the Persepolis reliefs and rhyta from Erebuni. However, these are dated to the end of the sixth to the fifth century BC based on their distant prototypes, which are undoubtedly early Scythian. Judging by the Persepolis Apadana reliefs, where beak-shaped separator plaques are shown on the bridle gear of the horses of the tribute-paying delegations, and by rhyta from Erebuni, the standard bridle with four such strap-separators was known in Achaemenid Iran.<sup>32</sup>

In Persepolis itself, several stone “beak-shaped” strap-separators have been found, which are more reminiscent of talons (Fig. 11.16-18).<sup>33</sup>

The iron strap-separators from the tenth Ulski kurgan are of the same shape (Fig. 11.19-21). They are unique in chronological terms and as items in their own standing. The resulting question is as follows: could Iran have been having a “reflexive” influence on the Black Sea region?

The reclining mountain goat depiction from Ulski kurgans 1/1909 and 2/1909 (Figs. 4.22, 5.7, 10.6, 16, 22), as well as the similar plaques from the Vitova mogila kurgan near Kharkov, may not originate from the parallel Kelermes tradition, but rather the tradition of Iran and Asia Minor, where reclining mountain goats with heads turned back were often depicted. P. Amandri was the first scholar to suggest that this theme was not necessarily Scythian.<sup>34</sup>

The 14 fine silver phalarae, or forehead straps, from kurgan 2/1909 (Fig. 5.6) (the kurgan we re-excavated in 2007) pose a certain mystery. L.K. Galanina

compared these with the fine phalarae from the Milski kurgan in Azerbaijan<sup>35</sup> suggesting Near Eastern or Transcaucasian manufacture.

However, it should be noted that the chronological breach between the Milski and Ulski phalarae/forehead straps is more than 100 years. Urartian workshops had already ceased to exist in Transcaucasia when the Ulski kurgans were being created. The question remains: in which Transcaucasian or Near Eastern workshops were these phalarae being produced in the second half of the sixth century BC?

No close contemporary parallels have been found for the S-shaped cheek-pieces,<sup>36</sup> with engraved depictions, from this kurgan (Fig. 5.1-2). In the completed publication on the Ulski kurgans, E.V. Perevodchikova attributes them to a mixed Near Eastern/Scythian style.

At the same time, she pays attention to the similarity between the depictions on the cheekpiece ends and those on the massive Achaemenid period “buterolle”, where a beast of prey, with the same huge swollen eyes engraved in very concentric relief, as well as a “lotos-shaped” snout with tendril-shaped nostrils, is shown.<sup>37</sup> Near Eastern parallels are found for the predator with its head facing back, short snout and triangular ear. The style allows its attribution to the beasts of prey on the Achaemenid vessel from Ulyap kurgan shrine 1.<sup>38</sup>

The golden end-piece shaped like a horse head with zoomorphic depictions and incrustations (Fig. 5.8), found in the same kurgan (2/1909),<sup>39</sup> also belongs to the “mixed” style influenced by Asia Minor. The rabbit figures denoting the animals’ nostrils are typical of Scythian animal-style “zoomorphic transformations”, and their details (oversized ears, eyes, paw endings, remains of flattened mouldings for the face and ears) are completely “Scythian”.

The signs of Near Eastern artistry are just as clear: a ribbed ornament frames the pupils and triangular spots the forehead and cheeks. These triangles are similar to the nests for incrustations on some of the Kelermes items. Such characteristics are traditionally considered to be Near Eastern.

Finally, items that could be of Median or Achaemenid manufacture were found in kurgans 1 and 2 of 1909.

Kurgan 2/1909 brought forth a silver handle from a vessel – probably an amphora or a burner shaped like a deer (Fig. 5.9). Vessels made of precious metals with similar zoomorphic handles are typical of the art of Iran or the Near East.<sup>40</sup>

G.I. Borovka’s argumentation raises some doubts as to the attribution of this piece to a “Greek” master from a school in close standing with the school of the so-called Milesian or Rhodesian vases. This conclusion was based on the faint resemblance with animals depicted on eastern Greek pottery.<sup>41</sup> However, we know of no other similar Greek moulded metal pieces from this workshop. The animal-shaped handles of metal vessels from Asia Minor or Iran bear a much closer resemblance – for example, the handle of a metal vessel, perhaps an amphora, similar to those carried by the tribute bearers from Lydia and



Fig. 11. Strap-separators from Iran and Northern Caucasus. 1-10 – "Sialk"-type strap-separators: 1 – Sialk B, bur. 15; 2 – Pshish-I, bur. 51; 3, 4 – Pasargadae (Stronach 1978); 5 – Oxus Treasure; 6-8 – Ulski kurgan 2/1909; 9 – Ulski kurgan 10/1982; 10 – Ulski kurgan 1/2007. 11 – bird's-head-shaped sceptre from cemetery Fars, bur. 35. 12-21 strap-separators of the "Kamennomostskij" type: 12 – Kamennomostskij, gr. 1921; 13 – "Klady" – kurgan 41; 14 – Kelermesskaja, kurgan 24; 15 – first Krasnoznamenskij kurgan; 16-18 – Persepolis; 19-21 – Ulski kurgan 10/1982.

Armenia on the Persepolis Apadana reliefs.<sup>42</sup> Metal handles of amphoras or burners, close in style and occurring from Iran and Lydia, are known in museum collections.<sup>43</sup>

A fragment from a silver cup phiale with a leaf ornament was found in kurgan 1/1909 (Fig. 4.13).<sup>44</sup> A similar ornament is found on a number of Near Eastern vessels, including Urartian ones. However, the closest parallel to this fragment is a silver phiale from the Ulyap ritual complex 4, which belongs to a group of items of Achaemenid manufacture.<sup>45</sup>

All the given examples lead to the following question: which workshops – Near Eastern or Transcaucasian – were producing items for the Meotian elite in the third and fourth quarters of the sixth century BC, during the active expansion of Achaemenid power?

Hopefully, the complete publication of the Ulski kurgans will serve as a foundation for future investigations which will bring us closer to an answer.

## Notes

- 1 OAK 1898, 30-32.
- 2 OAK 1908, 118; OAK 1909-1910, 147-152.
- 3 Leskov 1985, 26-28; Leskov 1990.
- 4 Galanina 1999, 58-67.
- 5 Leskov et al. 2005.
- 6 Petrenko et al. 2000, 238 ff. [avoid ff. Add full page reference]
- 7 Leskov et al. 2005, 176, fig. 203.1.
- 8 Ksenofontova 2000, 81-82.
- 9 Gabuev & Erlikh 2001, 116, 117, fig.4. [add to bibliography]
- 10 Artamonov 1966, 35, pl. 64; Očir-Gorjaeva 2005, 66, Abb. 58.2a-2b; Kantorovich & Erlikh 2006, 122, cat. 61.
- 11 See Rostovtzev 1925, 310; Ilinskaja & Terenojkin 1983, 68-69; Petrenko 1989, 221-223; Mahortyh 1991.
- 12 Leskov 1985, 26-28.
- 13 Balonov 1987, 22; Galanina & Leskov 1996, 14; Erlikh 2001, 118; Kantorovich & Erlikh 2006, 20, 21.
- 14 Erlikh 2007, 69-71.
- 15 Erlikh 2001, 115-119; Kantorovich & Erlikh 2006, 20-26.
- 16 Leskov 1990, 28-44.
- 17 Erlikh 2006, 37-49. [add to bibliography]
- 18 Galanina & Leskov 1996, 13-15.
- 19 Petrenko 1994, 374, fig. 1.8; Chlenova 1997, fig. 50.9. I am grateful to V.E. Maslov for pointing out these complexes to me, which have yet to be fully published.
- 20 Shramko 1987, 47, fig. 15.
- 21 Mogilov 2006, fig. 134, 10-14. I am obliged to A.D. Mogilov, with whom I consulted on this matter.
- 22 Ulskie kurgans forthcoming, cat. 119. L.K. Galanina calls these insertions phalarae.
- 23 Petrenko et al. 2006, 408, fig. 4.5.
- 24 OAK 1909-1910.
- 25 Ghirshman 1939, pl. LVI; Medvedskaja 1983, 74, fig. 3.22.

26 Medvedskaja 1983, 64-77.

27 Chochorowski 1983, 101.

28 Sazonov 1995, 106, fig. 9.3; Erlikh 2007, fig. 202, 17, 18.

29 Ulskie kurgans forthcoming, cat. 19, 94, 96, 292.

30 Dalton 1964, cat. 146, fig. 69; Calmeyer 1985, 132.

31 Stronach 1978, 216, fig. 93.1-2.

32 Calmeyer 1985, 127-130.

33 Schmidt 1939, 45, fig. 27; Schmidt 1957, pl. 29.3-6; Calmeyer 1985, 128, Abb. 3.

34 Amandry 1965, 149-160.

35 Galanina 1983, 45.

36 OAK 1909-1910, 150, figs. 213, 214.

37 Lukonin 1977b, fig. on p. 50.

38 Katalog Moscow 1987, figs. XIX, XX, cat. 104.

39 OAK 1909-1910, 149, fig. 211.a-b

40 OAK 1909-1910, 150, fig. 212; Ulskie kurgans forthcoming, cat. 118.

41 Borovka 1922, 193-203.

42 Calmeyer 1993, 152, 153, Taf. 43, 44.

43 Lukonin 1977, figs. on pp. 83, 92; Özgen, Öztürk 1996, 118, 119, cat. 73.

44 Ulskie kurgans forthcoming, cat. 79.

45 Katalog Moscow 1987, cat. 102.

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## Abbreviations

ASGE = *Arkheologicheskij sbornik Gosudarsnvennogo Ermitaja*. St Petersburg (Leningrad).

IRAIMK = *Isvestija Rossijskoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury*. St Petersburg (Leningrad).

SGE = *Soobshenija Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaja*. St Petersburg (Leningrad).



# Orphic Thrace and Achaemenid Persia

*Diana Gergova*

The issues concerning the areas in which the Achaemenid presence in the Balkans influenced the culture of ancient Thrace naturally arouse interest amongst researchers. Abundant archaeological material and, even more, the examples of toreutics discovered south of the River Danube, as well as various written sources enlighten the issues (Marazov 1977; Kalojanov 1988; Boardman 2000; Tacheva 2000; Jordanov 2002; Megaw & Ruth 2002; Jordanov 2003; Valeva 2006; Valeva 2008, etc.).

The period of Achaemenid presence, influence, diplomatic and commercial exchange in Thrace began in 520 BC with Dareios I leading his forces over the Bosphorus and up the Danube, and continued to around 400 BC (Megaw [& Riith?] 2002, 488).

Dareios' intention to enlarge his possessions in Europe (i.e. in Thrace, Macedonia and Greece) involved the incorporation of territories abounding in natural resources, including in particular the gold and silver mines of Thrace. When, in the middle of the fourth century BC, Philip II took control of the mines, he was able to obtain an annual income of 1,000 talents. Where the Thracian *logos* intertwines with the Scythian one in his discourse, Herodotos narrates the story of Dareios' route through European lands and details the relations between the Achaemenids and the Thracian tribes, both along the north Aegean coast and along the west Pontic. Naturally, not every aspect was related by him, and, accordingly, reconstructions of Thraco-Persian relationships have been accompanied by various hypotheses (Tacheva 2006).

Paying particular attention to the lack of resistance on the part of the Thracian Odrysae and the Hellenic poleis along the west Pontic coast, investigators have identified a preliminary diplomatic and strategic organization of Dareios' march that was not mentioned by Herodotos. The Persians just passed by them during their march against the Scythians, while the Getae, who were confronting the Achaemenid army, were defeated by the Persians (Jordanov 2003; Tacheva 2006).

The gravity of Dareios' strategic plans for control of the coastal areas of Thrace is obviously testified by the Persian towns built by him – Borysa and Doriskos, where the royal fortress developed to be the most important Achaemenid political and administrative centre. After Dareios returned to Persia, Megabazos conquered all those who refused to go over to the Persian camp, with the exception of the Thracian Satrai, the priests of Dionysos' oracle located on Rhodope mountain. Through a system of submitted tyrants and

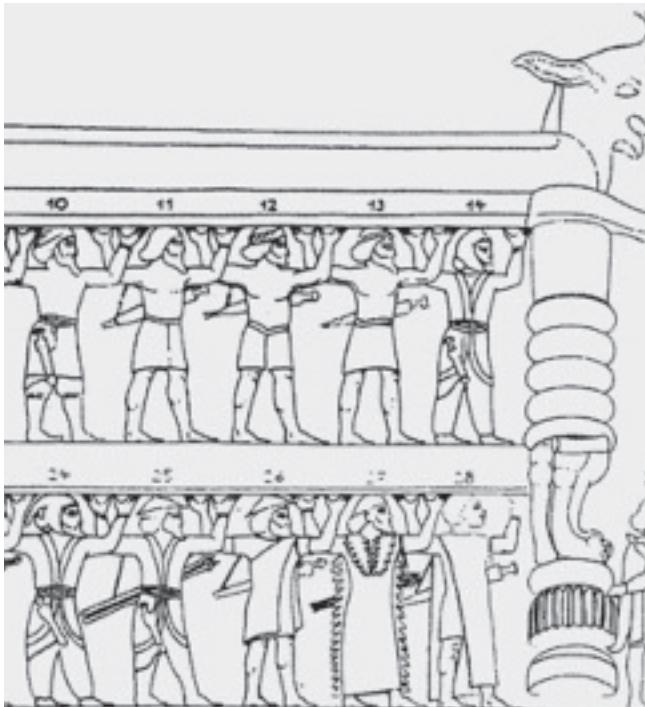


Fig. 1. The relief from the tomb of Dareios I at Naqsh-i Rustam, where no. 25 corresponds to 'Skudra'.

*hyparchoi*, the subjected coastal Thracian lands became the European satrapy of Dareios, which included the coast of Propontus, the Thracian Chersoneses, the coast of north Aegis with the lower reaches of Nestus-Strymon, as well as the southern parts of Paeonia (Tacheva 2000; Jordanov 2003; Tacheva 2006, 12-14).

The reliefs from the Apadana in Persepolis are considered to be evidence for the existence of a satrapy of Skudra in Europe. Thracians are among the names of the peoples within the Achaemenid Empire listed in the royal inscription from Susa, and in the relief on Dareios' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam (no. 25 on Fig. 1 corresponds to 'Skudra'). One of the figures – with *petasos*, two spears and *akinakes* – is armed in a typical way for both the local commanders in the Thraco-Macedonian-Paeonian zone and for the Odrysae from the Mycenean Age onwards (Tacheva 2006, 12-13) (Fig. 1).

The Odrysae created the first state among the Thracian tribes. Its formation took place at the end of the sixth century BC, during the period of Achaemenid presence in the Balkans, which might, in fact, have been one of the factors which gave impetus to this process. It was localized in the upper and middle reaches of the Maritsa river, to the east of the Tundja river and to the north to the Getic territories (Tacheva 2006, 25) (Fig. 2).

The lack of reports from Herodotus on the military successes of Dareios in Odrysian lands, on meetings with Odrysian kings or on demands for "earth and water" (i.e. for voluntarily submission) has given grounds for certain



Fig. 2. Map of Thrace and the Odrysian territories.

investigators to assume that diplomatic relations, totally natural at that time, were established between the two states through a peacefully arranged dynastic Thraco-Persian marriage. Thus, Odrysian state independence was safeguarded, as was the prestige of Dareios, and the Persian troops were allowed to pass peacefully to the north. This was probably the reason why Dareios, when setting foot on Odrysian lands, left piles of stones thrown by his troops by his order, instead of a royal inscription. Odrysian men were also not mobilized in his army (Tacheva 2006, 25).

Some archaeological finds from Odrysian lands are related to these specific aspects of Odrysian-Achaemenid relations.

It was in this period that rich burials under very high tumuli first appeared in the Maritsa valley, along with the earliest precious metal objects of eastern origin. The three highest tumuli in the Odrysian necropolis of the Teres dynasty near Duvanli, in the Plovdiv region – the Koukova, Mushovitsa and Arabadjiska mounds – belonged to women, demonstrating an extraordinary status that expresses a degree of parity with, or even superiority over, their male counterparts (Filow et al. 1934, 46, Taf. III, Abb. 55-59; Archibald 1998, 168). The graves in the Koukova and Mushovitsa mounds, dated before the middle of the fifth century BC, contained, together with exquisite sets of jewellery, silver and bronze vessels, one of the best pieces of Achaemenid art – an amphora-rhyton with a lotus-palmette chain, which remained a characteristic type for later Thracian metalware, as well as a fluted omphalos phiale and a



Fig. 3. The Achaemenid amphora from Kukuva mogila, Duvanli in the Plovdiv area.

deep bowl of Achaemenid type (Archibald 1998, 167). The amphora could be considered as a symbol of Thraco-Persian diplomatic relations and dynastic marriage, unknown from the written sources (Tacheva 2000; Tacheva 2006, 25) (Fig. 3).

The phialae from Daskal Atanasovo village, dated to the end of sixth to the fifth century BC, of "open lotus" form with high omphalos, are considered by some authors to be of purely Achaemenid origin (Nikolov 1961, 193; Marazov 1989; Valeva 2008), while others notice only strong eastern connections (Archibald 1998, 177). They seem to be another expression of the early and probably direct contacts between Thracians and Persians.

Although the sources do not report any contacts between the Persians and the Odrysae, it was precisely at this time that the names of rulers containing the Indo-Iranian suffix *dokos/tokos* and which are thus regarded to be of eastern origin, such as Sparadokos, Satokos, Metokos, Amatokos, Mesad, etc, first appeared in the Odrysian royal family (Vlahov 1966, 305). Presumably these names had a political character. Bearing in mind the existing practice of polygamy and the customary practice of political marriages, it has been assumed that, most probably, one of the wives of Teres I, the founder of the Odrysian state, was of eastern origin. A similar practice can also be identified in Odrysian-Scythian relations. When Teres gave his daughter to the Scythian king Ariapeites, his son was given the Scythian-Odrysonian name Oktamasades, while a ring in one of the rich male burials in Duvanli belonged to Skythodokus – most probably a son of Teres from his marriage to a Scythian princess (Tacheva 2006, 24-27).



Fig. 4a, b. The Rogozen Treasure.

Fig. 4c. Phialae 42 with the incised name of Kotys and an additional decoration on the omphalos.

Numerous examples of toreutics discovered in the territory of Bulgaria and dated from the end of sixth to the end of the fourth century BC show that the demand for local manufactured goods, especially precious metal tableware, evidently increased during the period of the Persian presence, but most probably also as a result of greater demand from the Odrysian court and the Thracian aristocracy. The number of imported vessels, which were probably *xenoi*, among them is relatively small and decreased further in the fourth century BC (Archibald 1998, 267).

Increasing in number every year, the remarkable silver vessels from Bulgaria – jugs, rhyta, goblets and phialae – were used for formal banquets, religious ceremonies and rituals. The majority of imports of precious metal vessels in Thrace consists of Achaemenid or Achaemenid-inspired drinking cups, beakers and bowls, more numerous than those originating from Greece. Achaemenid shapes were introduced into the metalworkers' repertoire on the Greek mainland and the Thracian Aegean coast around the turn of the sixth century BC. However, it has been noticed that the merging of the Achaemenid and Greek traditions and the coexistence of distinctive Greek and Achaemenid

styles in the same context is rare outside Thrace before the early Hellenistic period (Archibald 1998, 179-180).

The samples from within the Odrysian Kingdom, in view of the quantity of circulating silverware, indicate that there was probably enough work for several local workshops operating full time. These workshops, however, also developed and applied some decorative schemes of local and Mediterranean traditions. These include, for example, the reliefs of garlanded human faces and floral ornaments discovered in Thrace on phialae and skyphoi from Rogozen, Strelcha, etc (Valeva 2006, 28). The short rhyta with animal heads, whose number has increased considerably during recent years with the discoveries in Zlatinitza and Sliven, seem also to be specific to and preferred in Thrace (Valeva 2008, 20-24).

It is worth noting that, despite the resemblance of Thracian examples to Achaemenid ones, in terms of the basic shapes of the rhyta, phialae and some of the jars, the use of the rhyta is known previously in Cretan culture. The bronze phialae from Sofronievo from the end of seventh century BC (Nikolov 1965) and the bronze cauldron from Kazichene (Stancheva 1974) indicate that these shapes were known even before the Achaemenids appeared in the Balkans, and were a consequence of earlier contacts between Thrace and the East.

According to Z. Archibald, Persian fashions are more in evidence in Thrace, whose ruling dynasty came to power at a time of Persian expansion, than in Macedonia (Archibald 1998, 195). J. Valeva recently discussed the gold and silver vessels from ancient Thrace, their shapes, decoration and functions, in the context of recently discovered toreutic works from Eurasia, and demonstrated the similarities across this huge territory, the western boundary of which is Thrace (Valeva 2006; Valeva 2008).

Nevertheless, if the shapes of the drinking vessels are closely related to Persian forms, could we consider that this was equally related to Persian banqueting fashions being adopted by the Thracians? Did the Persians influence the ideology or the ritual behaviour of the Thracians?

The written sources and archaeological data indicate that the use of metal vessels in the gift-giving tradition and for ritual banquets had deep roots in the political and religious life of the Thracian aristocracy and of the Thracians more generally from the late Bronze Age. Homer devoted special attention to the gifts Priam prepared for the Myrmidonian hero – precious objects, including “a beautiful cup given to him by the Thracians” as a great gift when he was sent to them. Odysseus received from the Thracian king and Apollo’s great priest Marron splendid gifts: “seven talents of masterfully proceeded gold; a silver krater and poured 12 amphorae of wine, a precious, blended sweet beverage, a divine drink”. Among other gifts, the Thracian king Kotys I gave three cups as a dowry to his son-in-law Iphicrates – “a shallow cup for drinking, a helix-shaped cup, a vessel for drinking snow water … a multiple sacrifice”.

In Xenophon's narrative, the rich banquet was followed by a ritual in which guests handed gifts to the ruler: a horse, a slave, expensive clothes and a silver cup. Seuthes received everything without offering a gift in return. Heraclitus, who was close to the Odrysian ruler, told the guests that "according to custom, every time Seuthes invited people to dinner, they had to bring him gifts ... the greater the gift you offer him, the greater the gift you will receive from him" (Marazov 1989, 165-173). Thoukydides emphasized that the above-mentioned custom was popular among Thracian tribes, but Odrysae benefited from it more because of their power. Without gifts being offered nothing could be done with them (Thuc. 97.1).

Thracians observed the custom, in contrast to that of the Persian state, of taking rather than giving. Herodotus narrates how the inhabitants of Thasos prepared to welcome the Persian royal court. After the feast, the guests at the royal table took the precious vessels they had used. The event ruined the island financially (Hdt. 7.119.1) (Marazov 1989, 165-173).

Other aspects of Thracian ritual practices are better testified in the archaeological sources. The deep changes in the religious beliefs and practices of the Thracians, which took place in the late Bronze Age, are no doubt connected with the notion of the religious reform of Orpheus – the Thracian who founded, so Herodotus says, the mysteries, which were called after him *treskeia*. The archaeological expression of these changes can be seen in the numerous sanctuaries found at strategic and picturesque locations at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, the appearance of tumuli all over Thracian territory, the formation of huge cult-burial complexes and the beginning of the ritual practice of burying sacred gifts in the earth. The latter remains one of the most characteristic features of Thracian culture throughout the whole of the Iron Age (Gergova 1988a; Gergova 2005; Gergova 2007).

Four categories of ritually buried hoards have been clearly distinguished – jewellery, horse harnesses, ritual helmets, as well as sets of clay, bronze, silver or golden vessels (Gergova 2005). These hoards are usually found in the open air, near rivers, on the territory of tumular necropoleis and in tumuli without burials, and correspond to the "Hyperborean" tradition of keeping sacred gifts in the open air. The structure of the hoards indicates the importance and sacredness of the number three and hints at the involvement of three main participants in the ritual ceremony. The specific ratio between the different components of the hoards suggests the application of strict ceremonial rules (Gergova 1987).

One hypothesis suggests that most probably the ritually buried groups of objects were dedications to the main gods venerated by the Thracians – the jewellery to the Mother Goddess, the horse harnesses to Apollo, the helmets to Ares – while the sets of vessels were general gifts to the sacred triad of the Mother Goddess and her twins Apollo and Artemis (Gergova 2005).

Among the famous sets from the early and late Iron Age, it is worth noting the groups of clay vessels from Plovdiv and Cherkovna in the Razgrad area and Esenica in the Varna area from the end of the Bronze Age and the

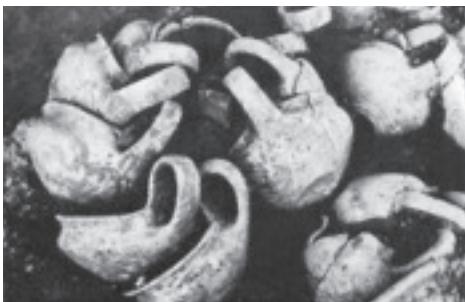


Fig. 5. The Susani ritual set of clay vessels.

beginning of the Iron Age, the golden treasure from Valchitran from the ninth century BC, the silver treasures of jewellery and vessels, horse harnesses and vessels or only of vessels from Bukyovtsi, Stoyanovo, Lukovit, Borovo, etc. from the fifth to the fourth century BC (Gergova 1987; Gergova 1988a) and, in particular, the collection of silver vessels from Rogozen in the Vratza region discovered in 1986 (Rogozen 1988).

The Rogozen Treasure, found in northwest Bulgaria in 1986, consists of 165 silver and silver-gilt vessels: there are three main vessels (a goblet, a skyphos and a kotyle), 54 jugs and 108 phialae, dated from the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century BC. It was buried in two parts, the first one consisting of 100 vessels and the second of 65 vessels. The ratio of the jugs to the phialae is 1:2. The interrelationship between the numbers of vessels, their shapes and iconographic language produces a remarkable harmony within the structure of the set, conditioned by the principles of the definite religious system which lay behind it (Rogozen 1988; Gergova 1988b; Gergova 1990, 113) (Fig. 4).

The origins of the vessels are both local and imported. Some of the vessels show a secondary use, such as phiale 42 of Persian origin which has an inscription of the Thracian name Kotys and an image of Apollo soldered on to the omphalos of the phiale (Marazov 1989, 27) (Fig. 4a). Archibald considers that the Rogozen find illustrates an artistic phase in Thrace during which Persian and Greek influences were on a par, when the local Persian rulers of Anatolia and the Odrysae vied in their patronage of eminent craftsmen and set the standard for their respective peer group (Archibald 1998, 274).

The names of several Thracian kings from the fifth century BC, including Kotys, Kersebleptes, Satokos, etc., are incised on the silver vessels.

There have been a number of different interpretations of the character of the find, but, in the context of the phenomenon of the "Thracian treasures" as sacred gifts, the most probable seems to be an interpretation of it as a set for a banquet, which was ritually buried after a ceremony as a gift to the sacred triad of the Mother Goddess, Artemis and Apollo. The inclusion of the name of the Thracian prince Satokos, who was given Athenian citizenship, suggests a political connection to this event (Gergova 1988a; Gergova 1988b).

*Fig. 6. The bowls from the Oxus treasure.*



Along with its uniqueness, the Rogozen Treasure is of considerable interest in two further ways. In the first place there is the fact that it had much earlier predecessors in Thrace, testifying to the deep-rooted local tradition of organizing banquets and religious ceremonies with numerous participants. Secondly, it is the closest parallel as a ritual set to the recently discovered part of the Oxus Treasure – the most important surviving collection of Achaemenid Persian metalwork (Treasures 2002).



Fig. 7. The Belene bowl.

The late Bronze Age find from Susani, Romania (Stratan & Vulpe 1977) consists of more than 213 cups and bowls dated to the 11th century BC, which were buried under a tumulus without human bones. They were divided into ten groups. Two special vessels were constructed of three phalerae and of three different vessels each. The lack of human bones and the great number of clay vessels, including 100 in a ritual pit surrounded by wheat grains, suggest that the tumulus was piled over the dishes after a ritual banquet or complicated cult ceremony (Fig. 5).

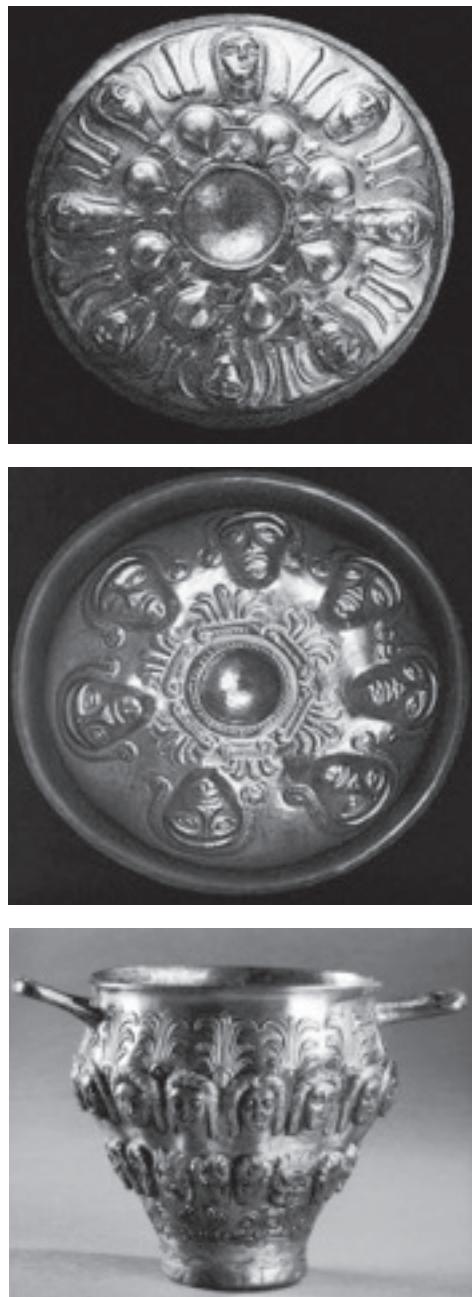
Another collection from a tumulus near Taşlicabir in European Turkey, which is similar and synchronous to the Susani find, has been published. The find of 53 clay vessels was divided into two main groups, and included a type of cernos – an indication of the religious character of the clay banqueting set (Özdoğan 1987).

However, the most striking parallel to the Rogozen Treasure can be found in the recently published “Bactrian treasure”, which is considered to be another part of the famous Oxus Treasure (Pichikyan 2002; Treasures 2002). This treasure includes vessels, a gold scabbard, model chariots and figures, seals, jewellery and miscellaneous personal objects, dedicatory plaques and coins from the time when the Achaemenid Empire stretched from Egypt and the Aegean to Afghanistan and the Indus valley, and when the typical style, which is generally called Graeco-Persian, was found dispersed throughout the Empire from the Aegean to India. It seems that the objects were gathered together over a long period, perhaps as a Zoroastrian temple treasure (Secunda 2002, 203).

Two drinking sets may be clearly distinguished among the objects. The first one consists of 18 golden phialae, a pyxis with a lid, an incense burner and two ladles, dated to the sixth to the fourth century BC (Treasures 2002, nos. 123-144). Of special interest are the silver vessels with gilt, which form a second set consisting of a predominant number of phialae – an essential element of the temple – utensils, bowls, a kotyle and several rhyta (Treasures 2002, nos. 97-122).

The majority of the vessels present exceptional propinquity to the Rogozen Treasure’s phialae or to objects from other sets found in Thrace. Some bowls from Oxus are of particular interest. They have a specific biconical shape, a pointed base and a vertical neck (nos. 104, 103, 106, 109, 110) (Treasures 2002,

*Fig. 8. Phialae nos. 99 and 100 from Rogozen decorated with human heads and the skyphos from Strelcha.*



243-244), and decorated with gilded rosettes and almond-shaped protuberances or with narrow framed arches each fitted with a protruding male head in the top of an arch (no. 109) (Treasures 2002, 244.) (Fig. 6).

The above-mentioned deep bowls are very similar in shape to several early



Fig. 9. The kotyle from Oxus.

golden vessels from Thrace. The bowl from Belene (Marazov 1998, 202) (Fig. 7), decorated with bosses and chanelling, and that from Kazichene, with incised and channelled decoration (Marazov 1998, 233), indicate, on the one hand, deep-rooted traditions in late Bronze Age pottery and, on the other hand, the existence of a similar style of decoration in the Thracian lands already at the beginning of the early Iron Age (11th to ninth century BC).

Decoration incorporating the depiction of human heads or those of mythological creatures was also widespread in the Mediterranean area and was extremely popular on golden and silver bowls and phialae in Thrace. Among the examples that should be mentioned are phialae nos. 99 and 100 from Rogozen, which are decorated with alternating female heads and palmettes (Fig. 8), a bowl from Loukovit and the golden phiale decorated with negro heads from the Panagyurishte Treasure. Female heads also decorate the skyphos from Strelcha. It is accepted that they symbolize the Mother Goddess – the major figure in Thracian religious beliefs (Valeva 2006, 28, fig. 28).

The ornaments on the bottom of the kotyle from Oxus (Fig. 9), a gilded ornamentation of alternating bucraenia and mussel shells, show a similarity to both the bucraenia and acorn decoration on phialae nos. 94, 95 from Rogozen (Fig. 10), and vessels of this type have been produced in Thrace too (Tonkova 1994; Valeva 2006, 27). The golden mussel-shaped vessel from the tumulus of Goliamka Kosmatka, where a symbolic burial of the Thracian king Seuthes III was discovered by G. Kitov, indicates the popularity of the shape in Thrace in the Hellenistic period (Fig. 11).

There is a striking resemblance between two rhyta from Oxus and Borovo, each with protomes of a horse and a mix of Persian and Greek iconographic elements and stylistic devices. The resemblance gives ground to assume that both works may have been created by the same workshop (Ivanov 1980; Treasures 2002, nos. 116, 245) and to presume a larger production of such luxury items (Valeva 2008, 14-15, figs. 16, 17) (Fig. 12a, 12b).



*Fig. 10. Phialae nos. 94 and 95 with bulls' heads from Rogozen.*

The short type of rhyta in the shape of different animals' heads, which were very popular in Thrace (at Zlatinica, Sliven, Rozovets, Panagyurishte, etc.) and the rhyta in the shape of a fawn's head from Oxus (Treasures 2002, no. 19; Valeva 2008, 20-24) also indicate the utilization of common types, and they may be products of one and the same workshop.

It is worth mentioning that among the published objects from Oxus (Treasures 2002, nos. 204, 205) there can be found other, small objects that are almost identical to examples found widespread throughout Thrace, such as golden ornaments, attached most probably to a veil, human heads as horse-harness ornaments, etc., from the beginning of the fifth and the fourth centuries BC, for example the finds from Mogilanska mogila, grave II in Vraca, from Kralevo in the Targovishte district, Sveshtari, etc. (Ginev 1983; Torbov 2005, 187, 191) (Fig. 13). These small objects seem to support an even a stronger argument for the close links between the Thracian and the Bactrian monuments.

The remarkable resemblance between the newly discovered ritual sets from Oxus, comprising a ritual set, and the Rogozen set, as well as the similarity to other objects of Thracian toreutics, raises the question about the origin of the vessels from Oxus, which, according to the investigators, look "more Hellenistic" as a whole than those discovered earlier. The suggestion of the activity of workshops whose products could have been distributed across such

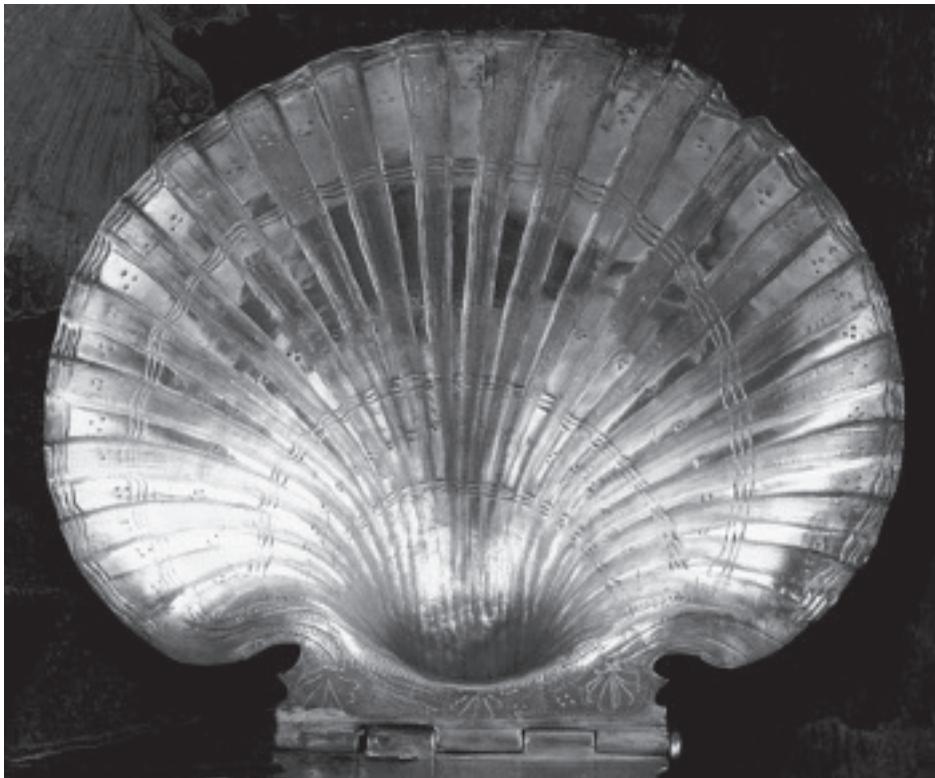


Fig. 11. The shell vessel from Shipka.



Fig. 12. The rhyta with horse protomes from Oxus and Borovo.

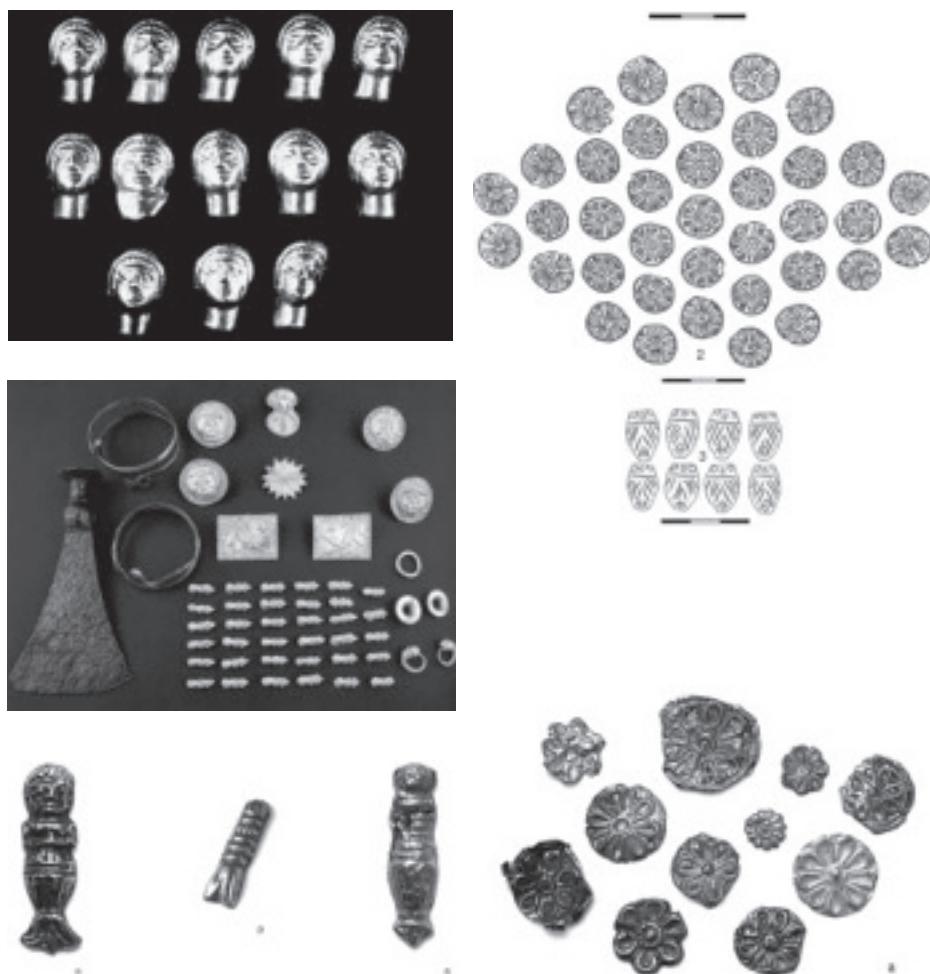


Fig. 13. Golden ornaments for a veil and "human heads" for horse harnesses from Vraca, Targovishte and Oxus.

a wide area, especially in the turbulent period of Graeco-Thraco-Achaemenid relationships, raises the question of their localization.

The great number of gold and silver treasures and jewellery from the territory of Thrace, starting at the end of the second millennium BC, suggests the use of the local gold and silver mines in the Balkan-Carpathian area for the production of precious pieces of adornment, weapons and religious utensils (Tonkova 1994, 214, map 2).

The activity of some workshops can be localized to Thrace already in the seventh century BC, but the numerous instruments and the stamps used for the decoration of metal objects, which have been published recently, originate mostly from the fifth to fourth century BC and testify to the functioning of

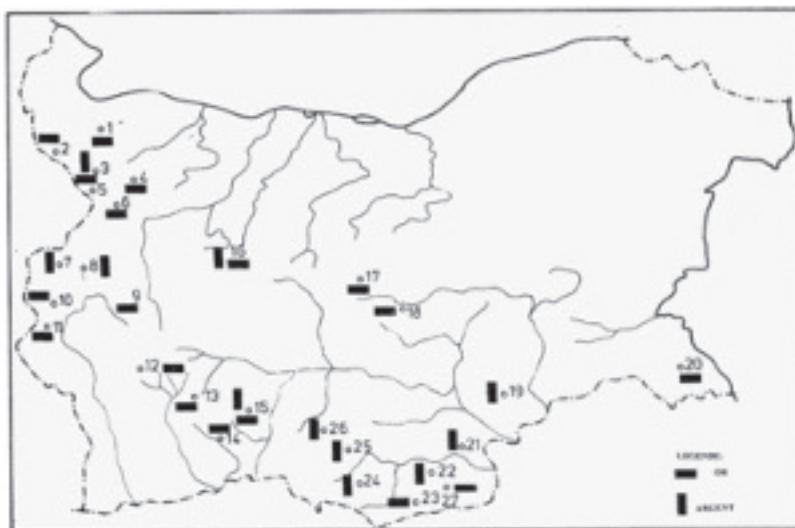


Fig. 14. Instruments and matrices from Thrace (Arbanasi and the Getic capital in Sboryanovo).

local workshops, particularly in northeast Thrace, but also to the south of Haemus. A rich collection of tools, matrices, articles and waste testifies to metal workshops, producing tools, arms, jewellery and toreutic goods from ferrous and non-ferrous metals, including silver and gold, in the Getic city in Sboryanovo (Stoyanov & Mihailova 1996; Stoyanov et al. 2006, 31), near the Thracian fortress of Dragoevoi in the Shumen area, in Emporion Pistiros, etc. (Tonkova 1994) (Figs. 14, 15).

The present study aimed to trace the level of influence of imperial Achaemenid culture upon the court and religious ceremonial life of Thrace, and especially upon the conduct of the founders of the first Thracian state – the Odrysians.

It could be asserted that the so-called Persianization of Thracian society influenced only the production of the Thracian workshops which participated actively in the formation of the so-called Graeco-Persian style. Another reason for this phenomena could be the similarity between the social models and religious and ideological notions of Thrace and Iran, as Marazov has under-



1. <i>Sredogriv</i>	8. <i>Breznik</i>	15. <i>Srebren</i>	22. <i>Zvezdel</i>
2. <i>Stakevci</i>	9. <i>Vitosă</i>	16. <i>Etropski balkan</i>	23. <i>Pčelojad</i>
3. <i>Čiprovci</i>	10. <i>Gorno Ujno</i>	17. <i>Osetenovo</i>	24. <i>Strašimir</i>
4. <i>Kalimanci</i>	11. <i>Skrinjano</i>	18. <i>Čehlare</i>	25. <i>Davidkovo</i>
5. <i>Dălgi djal</i>	12. <i>Babjak</i>	19. <i>Ustrem</i>	26. <i>Lăki</i>
6. <i>Văršec</i>	13. <i>Gostun</i>	20. <i>Slivarovo</i>	27. <i>Sedefče</i>
7. <i>Trăn</i>	14. <i>Sarnica</i>	21. <i>Madžarovo</i>	

Fig. 15. Map of the gold and silver mines (a) and workshops (b) in Thrace.

lined (Marazov 1977). Local Thracian religious ritualism and social practice, which were deeply-rooted back in the late Bronze Age and were based on the Orpheus doctrine, offered the most favourable conditions for the wide distribution, mainly in the territory of the later Odrysian Kingdom, of local products and imported vessels for the political and ceremonial needs of the Thracian institution of the priest-king.

The increasing number of works of toreutics, collected from across the vast Euro-Asian area, is now providing the opportunity to elaborate an international project to investigate the provenance of the metals used. Considering especially the rich gold and silver mines of Thrace, more objective conclusions may be drawn regarding the trade of metals and the localization of the workshops, which enriched the local traditions with strong eastern influences.

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# A Silver Rhyton with a Representation of a Winged Ibex from the Fourth Semibratniy Tumulus

Cultural Influences in Sindike in the Fifth to Fourth Century BC

*Vladimir Goroncharovskij*

In archaeological studies of the territory of the Bosporan Kingdom, finds directly or implicitly related by their provenance to the Achaemenid state are fairly uncommon. Almost without exception, when found these are objects of prestige, particularly cylindrical seals and carved stones of the fifth to the early fourth century BC (Fedoseev & Golenko 1995, 51-52). There is, however, also a rare example of toreutic work – a huge silver rhyton from the fourth Semibratne (Seven Brothers) tumulus – one of a well-known group of early burials of chiefs of the tribe of the Sinds (Fig. 1). During the period under consideration, the Sinds proved to be in the borderland between the Greek and Scythian worlds and established their kingdom here.

This situation is clearly reflected in the composition of grave offerings from a burial found here in 1875. The burial dates from the period not later than the mid-fifth century BC. It was partly looted, but, along with horses buried in a special mud-brick chamber and parts of horse gear in the Scythian animal style, it still contained numerous Greek imports: a silver kylix with a magnificent engraving and a gilded representation of the winged Greek goddess of victory, Nike, sitting on a chair and performing the rite of libation; a golden bracelet woven from wire with sculptural snake heads at the terminals; a set of scale armour with a large bronze plate representing the head of Medusa; a black-glazed Attic lekythos with a depiction of an athlete; and many other objects.

In particular, near the head of the deceased was a silver rhyton with a remarkable representation of a protome of a winged mountain goat (Figs. 2, 3). Its length is 63cm, the diameter of the upper body is 14.6cm and the diameter of the lower part is 4cm. The outer edges of the broad wings bend forwards, the long ends of the feathers and the beard of the goat are decorated with gold mounts fixed with small nails. Around the upper edge of the rhyton there is a frieze composed of a guilloche, lotuses and palmettes. At the junction with the tip there is a belt of small globules inserted between two rows of notched wire (Artamonov 1966, 108, pls. 117, 119; Anfimov 1987, 94-97, 106-107). Note-



*Fig. 1. Excavations of the Semibratnie (Seven Brothers) barrows. Lithograph of 1875.*

worthy is the gracefully bent horn of the rhyton with broad horizontal flutes paralleled in Iranian art. The goat figure is rendered with the forelegs bent beneath the body, but the main attention of the artisan was focused on the head. The latter is separated from the neck by peculiar whiskers divided by parallel deep depressions. The eyes and eyebrows above them are represented in a stylized form. Beneath the eyes there are similar thin arc-like ledges reflecting the aspiration of the craftsman to render the head plastically within a single decorative scheme. The nostrils and mouth are clearly outlined, as is the wedge-like projection of the beard. The geometricity of the wings is intensified by the stylized treatment of the feathers. Between the horns and eyes, the mane is shown schematically in bulging relief lines, as on many Iranian rhyta (Marazov 1978, 54). Another motif typical of Achaemenid art is the strictly symmetrical positions of once fairly long horns. This fact additionally suggests a provenance in a region tied closely with the traditions followed by ancient Persian craftsmen. In this case, the traditional Indo-European image of a winged goat as a zoomorphic symbol of lightning and thunder must have complied with the tastes of the semi-nomadic Sindian elite.

It is difficult to judge how this precious object could have come to a Sindian ruler: as a trophy, a diplomatic gift or through trade (cf. Kisel' 1995, 44). However, it cannot be ruled out that it was simply included in the number of offerings regularly received by the king from the town situated 3km east of the Semibratniy barrows and which existed simultaneously with the lat-



*Fig. 2. Silver rhyton with the figure of a winged goat from the fourth Semibratniy tumulus.*

ter. Only about 20 years ago, this town restored its historical name of Labrys; previously it was called Semibratnee urban site. It seems that the particular objects brought to Sindike were selected so as to correspond to scenes of fine art to which their new owners were accustomed, since they were acquainted with images of Scythian and Iranian mythology. In this respect, two golden rhyta, which were manufactured by Greek craftsmen and found close to the silver one, are of interest. One of these was tipped with a ram's head, the other one with the forepart of a dog. The upper parts of the rhyta, which were made of horn, are not preserved, but five triangular plates with rounded corners remain, and two of them, in their style and scenes, are considerably closer to Iranian traditions than to Greek ones. It cannot be ruled out that these plates, dismounted from some Achaemenid object which had become worthless, were used as an example for similar ornamentations and afterwards, secondarily, for decoration of a vessel copying the original prototype. On one, there is a lion tearing a deer (Fig. 4.1), on the other a senmurv (Artamonov 1966, 37): a sharp-toothed, winged dog with a tail in the form of birds' heads (Fig. 4.2). In these two cases we see the characteristic flatness of the figures and spiral volutes, while of note for the senmurv are the same whiskers and beard as on the winged ibex of the silver rhyton.

What was Labrys during the period when the independent Sindian Kingdom existed and the Semibratnee kurgans were constructed? The first excavations of the townsite, 28km northeast of the city of Anapa, were conducted by Vladimir G. Tiezenhausen as early as 1878, soon after he had finished his investigation of the nearby kurgans. Trenches sunk at the edges of the townsite revealed the remains of defensive structures about 3.2m high. However, the director of the excavations put forward no suppositions concerning their date, except to mention that a handle of a stamped Greek amphora and a corroded copper, probably Bosporan, coin were found during the excavations (OAK 1878-1879, 8-9). Regular investigations began there only 60 years later. These



*Fig. 3. Detail of the silver rhyton. Protome of a winged goat.*



Fig. 4. Mounts decorating the edge of the horn part of the golden rhyton: 1 – depiction of a lion tearing a deer; 2 – depiction of a senmuru.

were conducted during nine field seasons until 1955 by an expedition under Nikita V. Anfimov from the Krasnodar Museum of History and Regional Studies (Anfimov 1941, 258-267; Anfimov 1951, 238-244; Anfimov 1953, 99-111). It was established that the total thickness of the cultural deposits at the townsite extended to 3.3m. On the basis of the evidence yielded by excavations in the northern area, Anfimov dated these deposits as follows.

He dated the most ancient layer to the late sixth to the fifth century BC, and to that layer he attributed the remains of a defensive wall, 2.4-2.45m thick, of the early fifth century BC with rectangular towers at intervals of 15-18m. Supposing that the town was in the earlier stages of its existence, connected closely with the history of the Sindian Kingdom, Anfimov had no doubt that its appearance resulted from the rapid social and economical advances of the Sinds (cf. Šelov-Kovedjaev 1985, 132-133), who had proved to be close neighbours of the Greek *apoikai* of the Cimmerian Bosporos. According to Anfimov, a thick ashy layer formed by fires and destruction dates to the beginning of the fourth century BC and was possibly connected with the war-like events in Sindike known from Polyens' story about the Sindian king Hekataios and his Maiotian queen Tirgatao (Polyen 8.55). Anfimov further supposed that at the end of the same century another devastation of Labrys and the final annihilation of its earlier defences took place. The third building period was dated to the late fourth to the first half of the third century BC and the last one in the history of the town to the second half of the third to the early second century BC. At the end of the first century BC, when the city

was already lying in ruins, a small settlement arose which was occupied for about a century. The chronological scheme of Anfimov and his ethnocultural interpretation of this archaeological site remained immutable for a long time until amended as a result of the resumption of excavation of the townsite in 2001 by the Bosporos Expedition of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences. By that time, the above-mentioned name of the city, reconstructed hypothetically as Labrys, was already known after a chance find of an inscription of the Bosporan king Leukon I. The inscription narrates that the king dedicated here a statue to Phoebus Apollo after the battle against Oktamasades, son of Hekataios, the king of the Sinds (Blavatskaja 1993, 34-48; Tochta'sev 1998, 286-302; Vinogradov 2002, 3-22; Jajlenko 2004, 425-445; Tokhtas'ev 2006, 2-22). In the further description of the field investigations of the Bosporos Expedition, including those of a non-intrusive character (geomagnetic surveys), it is implied that a number of observations and conclusions proposed here are only preliminary and require further confirmation by extensive studies of the various stages of the existence of Labrys.

The main studies of the Bosporos Expedition concerned primarily the previously uninvestigated northern part of the townsite which, as geomagnetic surveys have shown, has the form of a trapezium, with a base length of about 200m and with lateral sides of approximately 100m and 130m (the total area is ca. 2.5 hectares). The northern area facing the ancient riverbed of the Hypassis (River Kuban) is an oval of a considerably greater size. These differences, under the condition of a fairly even locality (the drop of height throughout the site does not exceed 4m), are not fortuitous but reflect particular stages in the development of the urban territory. The shape of the riverside part of Labrys probably resulted from the stabilization of the limits of the initially fairly irregular layout after the construction of the defences. Sometime ago, Martin established that the layout systems of peripheral Greek centres depended directly on their economic orientations (Martin 1973, 87-112). Early Labrys corresponds entirely in these terms to an *emporion* – a predominantly trade-based settlement founded in order to establish exchange with an indigenous community on which it wholly depended, being immediately surrounded by a barbarian milieu (Valle 1973, 54, 65-66; Bravo & Chankowski 1999, 275-295.<sup>1</sup> The main trade route was the river, although it is not yet quite clear where the port was situated. Geomagnetic surveys of an area of about 0.08 hectares (18m by 45m = 810m<sup>2</sup>) near the ancient riverbed of the Kuban, in a grassy lowland area beyond the northern wall of the town, have demonstrated the absolute absence of any harbour constructions. Possibly they were located northwest of Labrys, where, judging from the relief of the locality near the mouth of the Shakon river, now almost extinct, one may suppose the presence of a fairly large bay in antiquity.

The foundation of Labrys in the land of the Sinds as an *emporion* of the port-of-trade type, in the terminology of Karl Polanyi (Kozlovskaja 1984, 40), may be dated on the basis of the pottery from the northern area of the

townsite. The oldest fragments of amphorae and painted ware yield one and the same date – not earlier than the very beginning of the fifth century BC (cf. Kamenetskij 2003, 72; Vdovičenko 2006, 32).<sup>2</sup> Hence, the initial defensive walls, by which a fairly large area of ca. 8.5 hectares was soon synchronously encircled, must have been erected during the period very close to a date extremely momentous for the Bosporos – 480 BC. Was it not, furthermore, one of the first actions of the *symmachie*, established then with the Sinds as one of the allies for the repulsion of the Scythian threat? (Tolstikov 1984, 32-39; Šelov-Kovedjaev 1985, 77). This action, moreover, must have been a very serious and expensive one, because, for the Bosporan cities at the beginning to the first quarter of the fifth century BC, a fortification system, rather than isolated defences, is known only at the acropolis of Pantikapaion (Tolstikov 2001, 397-398).

It is quite probable that the local ruler, who had fixed all aspects of the mutually profitable political, military and economic relations with the Bosporan cities in a special agreement, had his permanent residence in Labrys.<sup>3</sup> This may have defined afterwards a peculiar role for the city, both in the formation of an early type of state structure by the Sinds not later than the mid-fifth century BC (Tochtašev 2001, 66) and in the events of the military and political history of Sindike.<sup>4</sup> The rich burials from the nearby group of the Great Semibratnie barrows, the first of which were constructed not later than the fifth century BC (barrow nos. 2 and 4), are one of the indicators of the significance of that centre. The tradition of building kurgans vanished here simultaneously with the fall of the independent Sindian Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> A gradual rise of Greek influence on the culture of Sindike by the early fourth century BC is vividly demonstrated by the increase of Greek imports among the funerary offerings of the Sindian chiefs, not to mention the use of Greek names, for example Hekataios, among the ruling strata. Indicative is an unrifled burial at kurgan VI where, in a stone tomb, a wooden carved sarcophagos stood on chiselled legs with a two-sloped roof upholstered with a cover probably of Bosporan provenance. The cover was made of thin woollen cloth with mythological scenes, depictions of animals and birds and ornamental motifs (Gerciger 1973, 73-78). Alongside tokens of barbarian life (a fur cap and boots, golden clothing mounts), the burial contained silver kylikes with engraved and gilded representations (Gorbunova 1971, 20-22, 29-33), three golden seal-rings, bronze and black-glazed vessels, and even an ivory box with representations of Aphrodite and Eros (Anfimov 1987, 96).

In the southern part of Labrys, the oldest cultural deposits were excavated within an area of 120m<sup>2</sup> (Excavation Area I) adjoining the internal face of the eastern fortification line. The latter included an inner rectangular gate-tower constructed on the bedrock (its excavated part measuring 6.5m by 4.9m) with the walls up to 0.85m thick and a preserved height of up to 0.94m. A staircase was added to the tower (Fig. 5). Judging by fragments of Chian amphorae with bulging necks, one of which was found in the masonry of the tower, the



*Fig. 5. Foundation of the staircase and gate-tower of the fifth century BC (view from the south).*

urban territory here was occupied from the second quarter of the fifth century BC. The walls of the tower had a three-part structure with two armour faces constructed of coarsely hewn flattened blocks of limestone. The interstice between the faces was filled with densely packed clay mixed with fine rubble. The internal room probably served to house standing guards over the entrance to the city. The long-term presence of people here is suggested by a baked spot from a two-chambered rectangular fireplace measuring 0.6m by 0.55m which is preserved on the adobe floor in the southwestern corner of the tower. Above the level of the foundation of the fireplace, ashy intercalations up to 0.37m thick were noted. These layers, along with pieces of charcoal and fired bones of domestic animals, contained mussel shells and sturgeon scutes. Broken wares used for cooking and domestic refuse were thrown out – over the wall into the corner between the tower and the staircase. The base of the staircase was 5.4m long and about 2m wide. The four lower footsteps showed an incline at an angle of 30° suggesting that the exit onto the upper platform of the gate-tower was at a height of about 3.5m. Its masonry was irregular with the limestone blocks laid flat and measuring on the face from 0.16m by

0.1m up to 0.92m by 0.16m. An analogous original construction, with a rather low gate-tower and adjacent staircase, is known only in the defensive wall of Pistiros – a Greek *emporion* founded in the fifth century BC in Thrace on a riverbank more than 300km inland from the sea (Domaradzki 1996, 18-19, figs. 1.4, 1.8, 2.2; Bouzek 2006, 34-35). The similarity with Pistiros extends further though. Indeed, the gate in its defensive wall had on the outer side only one tower to which the assaulters would have to turn with their sides unprotected by a shield. As shown by the evidence of magnetic surveys, the Labrys towers, destroyed by fire, which defended the fortress gates facing the south and west were arranged in a similar way. "Gaps" about 5m wide in the protracted positive anomalies of the magnetic map correspond to these gates. Moreover, there are two gaps of this kind in the southern line of defences, probably to allow the possibility of sudden sallies in the case of an attempt to seize the city from this side. It is of note here that the thick positive magnetic anomaly is present only in the southern and western lines of defences, where, as mentioned above, the locality is fairly even. Probably, this latter fact necessitated the construction of obstacles to attackers on the external line of the ditch, dug here about 13m wide, and perhaps in the ditch itself. Such an obstacle may have taken the form of a wooden stockade, which, after having been burnt, left a strong magnetic vestige. Further to the south, along the western edge of the modern forest-belt where some low hills are traced at intervals, a weak winding magnetic anomaly with rectangular protrusions at intervals of 14m is "readable" in the magnetic map. These protrusions may be interpreted as towers.

Jan Bouzek, in comparing the defences of Pistiros with the fortification structures of northern Greece, arrived at the conclusion that the former are most similar to the city walls of Thasos. The impulse for sending a party of colonists to the barbarian interior may have been the defeat of the revolt of the islanders against the rule of Athens in 465 BC (Bouzek 1996, 44). Construction of analogous fortification elements in the land of the Sinds within the same chronological span seems to be not fortuitous. There is the probability that either a Thasian architect who chanced to find himself in the Bosphorus took part in that construction, or a group of natives from Thasian possessions on the Thracian coast was present among the new colonists. Indeed, the outcome of the urban building to the south (beyond the line of the former gated walls which are fairly well readable on the map of the geomagnetic surveys) was quite probably related to the arrival of a small group of *epoikoi* on the banks of the Hypanis. The new quarters of the city inscribed into the trapezoid of additional defensive structures came to occupy an area of about 2.5 hectares. Taking into account the average density of the buildings yields us a number of about 130-150 house owners. It cannot be ruled out that with the influx of Greek colonists, Labrys, in its further development, acquired the status of a polis although remaining under the control of the tribe of the Sinds in the person of their chief. The latter, it seems, received initially from their Greek

subjects sporadic gifts of expensive weapons, adornments and luxury objects, and later a fixed tribute in gold and silver (cf. Zlatkovskaja 1971, 127).

This situation is pretty reminiscent of the position of the Hellenes within the Odrysian Kingdom in the early fifth century BC. There, the Greek poleis founded on the Thracian coast as early as the seventh to sixth century were not only subject to the Odrysian rulers but, in fact, were incorporated into the structure of their state (Vysokij 2003, 53). We know that the citizens of the poleis and residents of the *emporia* in the heart of the barbarian territory paid duties to the Thracian king, as did his other subjects, at least from the rule of Sitalkes (431-424 BC) (Thuc. 2.97.3). In this connection, of particular note is an inscription of the mid-fourth century BC from the already mentioned *emporion* of Pistiros (Domaradska 1991, 7-8; Domaradski 1991, 9-10; Domaradzki 1993, 37-43) – a treaty between its residents and the Thracian king, one of the successors of Kotys I (383-359 BC). The latter's agreement with the Pistirians is mentioned as the precedent one in the inscription. In the text, the rights of the Thracian king concerning the Greek city subject to him are mentioned in the form of a casual prohibition of new rights, i.e. they were limited to those that had been practised before the registration of the agreement: the king was empowered to judge and to cancel debts, he had the right to take away from or to grant to somebody lands, pastures or a homestead, to alter the size of land lots or to pass them to some other person, to take away any other possessions of the *emporion*'s inhabitants, to leave a garrison in the city, to raise road duties and, finally, to arrest or put to death any person. Thus the inscription attests that at the earlier stage of the town's existence the Thracian rulers were considered as the supreme owners of the land and even controlled the rights and liberties of the Greek settlers (cf. Her. 7.137). Similar norms were extended probably over poleis too. Rights, or, rather, the possibility to avoid the controls listed above, were granted to the Pistirians in return for their services. From the text of the inscription we are able to form some ideas about the dynamics of the granting of these rights: under Kotys I the integrity of the life of the *emporitai* and protection of their property were guaranteed. Under his successor, the political status of the city was raised: the right of the inviolability of the Pistirians' lands was granted, the supreme judicial authority now belonged to the commune of the citizens and the quartering of a Thracian garrison within the limits of the city was prohibited. This agreement was very specific, concerning no other *emporia* in Thrace (Vysokij 2003, 56-57).

It is difficult as yet to judge much about the ethnic situation of the original settlement at the site of Semibratne, but anyway, at least from the second quarter of the fifth century BC, the city was seemingly a Greek centre in Sindike. It is not fortuitous that Igor S. Kamenetskij noted a "specifically Classical Greek assemblage of pottery" in the Semibratne townsite (Kamenetskij 2003, 71). In this respect, of interest also are Irina I. Vdovičenko observations. Examining the collection of Attic painted pottery from the excavations of

Anfimov, she noted that “the majority of the finds” is dated from the fifth century BC and that among them we encounter “very refined ware painted by the best Attic artists”, while typologically the examples available are close to those characteristic of the urban centres of the Bosporos (Vdovičenko 2006, 35). Analysis of the finds from the recent excavations shows the following situation for the fifth century BC: they include fairly considerable amounts of fragmentary black-glazed and painted pottery (up to 7.5 % of the entire collection of pottery except for amphorae), a number of letter graffiti, including Θε, as well as broken shells of mussels that were traditionally present in the diet of the Greeks. Contacts with the local population are reflected in the fact that up to 24 % of the ceramic assemblage (again without taking amphorae into account) are made up of fragments of handmade vessels.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, in the late fifth to the first quarter of the fourth century BC, the situation changed drastically: the portion of handmade pottery decreases to 16 %, that of the black-glazed and painted pottery increases sharply to 30 %.

Serious ordeals befell Labrys not later than the beginning of the 360s BC, when its defences were demolished. The ashy layer in Excavation Area I, with its inclusions of charcoal, is probably related to these events, which, in turn, are evidently related to the war between Leukon and Oktamasades. This layer frequently yielded rounded sea pebbles, which may have been used as sling shots. At the same level, 12m to the west of the defensive wall, a lenticular lead sling-shot weighing 55.6g was found.<sup>7</sup> Later, possibly after Labrys and the Sindian lands became part of the Bosporos Kingdom, the remains of the old fortifications were used as the foundations for a new defensive line (Fig. 6).<sup>8</sup> The gate-tower with staircase then came to be unnecessary and was dismantled. In the course of clearing the eastern edge of Excavation I, the internal face of the defensive wall of the fourth century BC was uncovered to a length of 5.3m and it was preserved here to a height of 1.6m. Certain grounds for its dating were yielded by an ancient pit sunk from the level of its foot. The pit contained the necks of Heraclean amphorae bearing examples of the



Fig. 6. Staircase of the fifth century BC with the defensive wall of the fourth century BC erected over it.

early ceramic stamps of the fabricants Dionysios, Kerkinos and Damaphon dated from the 370s to the first half of the 360s BC: one rhombic Διονυσιο; another in the form of an ivy leaf with the retrograde names Κέρκινος and Δαμαφωνος inscribed into it (cf. Monachov 1999, 252-253, 307).

The results obtained during recent years allow us to hope that in the near future the archaeological studies of Labrys will yield essentially new information on the earlier phase of Graeco-Sindian relations and their influence on the development of Sindike in the fifth to fourth century BC.

## Notes

- 1 Anna S. Rusjaeva supposed earlier that Labrys may have been founded by Bosporan Greeks in the Sindian territory under the aegis of Phoebus Apollo (Rusjaeva 2003, 225-230). Anyway, judging by the dedication of Leukon I, at least by the time of the events described in it, Phoebus Apollo was already the divine protector of Labrys.
- 2 Moreover, Igor S. Kamenetskij notes a “specific assemblage of pottery of the Greek Classical period” for the Semibratnee townsite (Kameneckij [or ‘Kamenetskij’ as in bibliography?] 2003, 71).
- 3 An example of relations of this kind is the situation established in Olbia where the Scythian king Skyles had “a house of spacious dimensions and richly arranged” (Her. 4.78-79).
- 4 Possibly, it was in Labrys that Greek craftsmen started Sindian coinage (Smekalova et al. 2007, 34-36). Since very diverse denominations, including minor ones, are represented among these coins, it seems justified to suppose that they were minted to satisfy the needs of the internal market, i.e. for everyday circulation. Previously, from Aleksandr N. Zograf onwards, it had been supposed that these coins were produced at the Pantikapaion mint (Zograf 1951, 168; Tereščenko 1999, 84-89; Tochtašev 2001, 68; Tereščenko 2004, 18). However, this hypothesis runs contrary to the evidence of the metallurgical analysis of Sindian coins, which differed in the composition of the silver from issues of other Bosporan centres (Smekalova 2000, 268). Anyway, taking into account the general analysis of the situation, the dating of the beginning of their emission to the first half of the fifth century BC, or even earlier, as proposed by N.A. Frolova (Frolova 2002, 73), seems to be groundlessly shifted backwards. Narrower dates for the issues of Sindian coins have been proposed by Dmitriy B. Šelov – the last quarter of the fifth century BC (Šelov 1956, 45); by Vladlen A. Anokhin – 433-403 BC or 430-400 BC (Anokhin 1986, 137-138; Anokhin 1999, 43); and by A.E. Tereščenko – 431/430 to the early fourth century BC (Tereščenko 2004, 19).
- 5 Chronologically, the burial complexes of other kurgans are distributed as follows: no. 5 – middle to third quarter of the fifth century BC; no. 1 – late fifth to early fourth century BC; no. 6 was constructed possibly in the first decade of the fourth century BC; nos. 7 and 3 in the first quarter of the fourth century BC. Kurgan no. 3 was probably the last to be constructed since it was erected in a hurry and was literally squeezed-in between kurgans 2 and 4 (cf. Butjagin 1996, 44-45; Vinogradov 2005, 252-254; Vlasova 2005, 71). Recently, additional information has been gained concerning kurgans 4 and 6. A combined radiocarbon date for the first complied fairly exactly with the other archaeological evidence: that the kurgan

was constructed within the period between 520 BC and 400 BC; the second one has a *terminus post quem* of 400 BC (Alekseev et al. 2005, 190-191).

- 6 In the Archaic complexes of the Bosporan cities this value sometimes amounted even to 35 % (Butjagin 2005, 83). However, the level of reliability of these data for the quantitative characterization of the percentage of the barbarian population among the inhabitants of the city must here be taken into consideration (Kryžickij 2006, 234). Firstly, the statistical sample available is still not sufficiently large. Secondly, at the initial stage of the occupation of the city, handmade pottery was possibly manufactured by the poorer families of the colonists. The analysis of the finds of handmade pottery from the Semibratnee townsite, made by Igor S. Kamenetskij, attests in favour of the latter hypothesis, demonstrating "a deliberate choice of forms close to Classical Greek ones" (Kameneckij 2003, 72).
- 7 In this connection, of note is the chance find of about ten lead sling-shots without any inscriptions or marks near the Semibratnee townsite (Skobelev 2003, 102).
- 8 Sometime ago, V.P. Tolstikov, based on the analysis of details of a military-engineering character, supposed that the earliest defensive system of the Semibratnee site was constructed not earlier than the first quarter of the fourth century BC (Tolstikov 1985, 356-358).

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### Abbreviations

DB = *Drevnosti Bospora*. Moscow.

KSIIMK = *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta istorii material'noj kul'tury AN SSSR*. Moscow.

MKIN = *Meždunarodnyj kongress istoričeskikh nauk*. [add place of publication?]

OAK = *Otchet Imperatorskoj Arkheologicheskoi Komissii*, St. Petersburg.

PIFK = *Problemy istorii, filologii i kul'tury*. Moscow-Magnitogorsk.



# Geomagnetic Surveys in the Territory of Labrys (Semibratnee Townsite) in 2006-2008

Tatiana N. Smekalova

During the period of occupation of Labris (Semibratnee fortified site) from the fifth century BC to the first century AD, the bed of the Kuban river ran far to the south of its present-day location so that the settlement adjoined the river. In the half-verst map of the late 19th century, the site is located at the boundary between arable fields and the bogged lowland (Fig. 1). In addition, a small lake called Liman Raznokol, now non-existent, is specified on the map to the southwest of the site – probably the remains of the former riverbed. It is interesting that the *liman* has dwindled, as shown by reconnoitring of the same map in 1930 (cf. Fig. 2).

In the archive air photographs of 1959, the light outlines of the site are clearly distinguishable in the form of a keyhole (Fig. 3). The northern section is oval, with the longer axis stretched along the river, whilst the southern one is rectangular, almost a square. Possibly, the lighter broad band outlining the settlement's area corresponds to its external defensive wall of limestone. As a result of repeated ploughing, the material of the wall gradually degraded and crumbled, so forming a broad diffuse band interrupted only where the gates were located and, vice versa, thickening in the areas of the towers. The fortification elements are best discernible in the southern rectangular part of the site. Here, it seems, we may locate the southern, eastern and western gates which were defended by towers. Indeed, during their decipherment of the aerial photo, Yu.V. Gorlov and Yu.A. Lopanov identified only a single southern gate, which in their opinion was protected by a *proteichisma* in addition to the tower (Gorlov & Lopanov 1999, 172).

Additional information on the defensive system of the settlement, as well as on its internal structures, may be gained from the data yielded by the magnetic surveys of 2006-2008. In 2006 the author conducted surveys in the elevated area surrounding the excavations.<sup>1</sup> Later, the area of the magnetic survey was extended over the entire southern section of the site (in 2007 and 2008) (Fig. 4). In 2006, the German geophysical group attempted to carry out magnetic surveys using a multi-sensor system moved by means of a wheeled mechanism. However, due to the high quantity of large stones, particularly in the southern elevated area of the site, and because of the deep ploughing of that area, they succeeded in investigating only a band about 70m wide and about 160m long where the surface of the site is smoothest in the direction of



Fig. 1. Map of 1909-1910 at half-verst scale (1:21000) from the Joint Staff of the Red Army, showing surroundings of the Semibratnee townsite (1) and Semibratnee kurgans (2).

the tilling. The area surveyed by the German group is marked by a dotted line on Fig. 4. The results of these surveys have not yet been published. In 2007, the German geophysicists were not able to record any measurements in the deeply ploughed site because it was impossible to move the trolley with the sensors across the field.

Indeed, the conditions for magnetic surveys at this site are fairly complicated. Therefore, we had to abandon the highly productive multi-sensor system fixed on a two-wheeled cart, which is usually employed in fields, and to conduct instead sensing by means of runs with a single transportable sensor; a Canadian GSM-19WG Overhauser magnetometer. Another magnetometer of the same type was mounted in the zone of the "normal" field in order to take control-point measurements. These reference data were afterwards used for subtraction of the temporary variations in the earth's magnetic field from the spatial measurements. At the site, a coordinate grid was fixed. Initially it was oriented to the cardinal points (in 2006), but afterwards was redirected



Fig. 2. Reconnaissance of 1930 of the 1909-1910 map in the region of the Semibratnee townsit (1) and Semibratnee kurgans (2).

along the boundary of the forest belt in order to cover the maximum area of the site (in 2007-2008). The measurements were taken at intervals of 0.5m between the lines and of 0.25-0.3m along the lines. The elevation of the sensor was maintained at 0.3m above the surface.

On the magnetic map obtained, a clear and fairly intensive anomaly (on average 40 nT) is distinguished in the form of three sides of a trapezium surrounding the entire section of the site (Fig. 4). The width of the base of this "trapezium" is about 198m, the lengths of the lateral sides are approximately 100-130m and the angle formed by the lateral sides to the southern one is about 77°. The source of this anomaly is evidently the highly magnetic fill of the ditch surrounding the southern part of the townsit. Particularly notable



Fig. 3. Aerial photograph of 1959 showing the Semibratnee townsite.

are three areas of thickening with corresponding increases of intensity of the anomaly. These three areas, *viz.* the southern, eastern and western, may have been three gates defended by towers.

When comparing the magnetic map with the results of the decipherment of the aerial photo it is particularly striking that the defensive wall around the southern part of the townsite, which in the aerial photo looks almost square, is surrounded by a ditch of a strange trapezoid shape. Possibly, this inconsistency between the forms of the defensive wall and the ditch can be explained by the presence of two corner towers in the southern area of the defensive

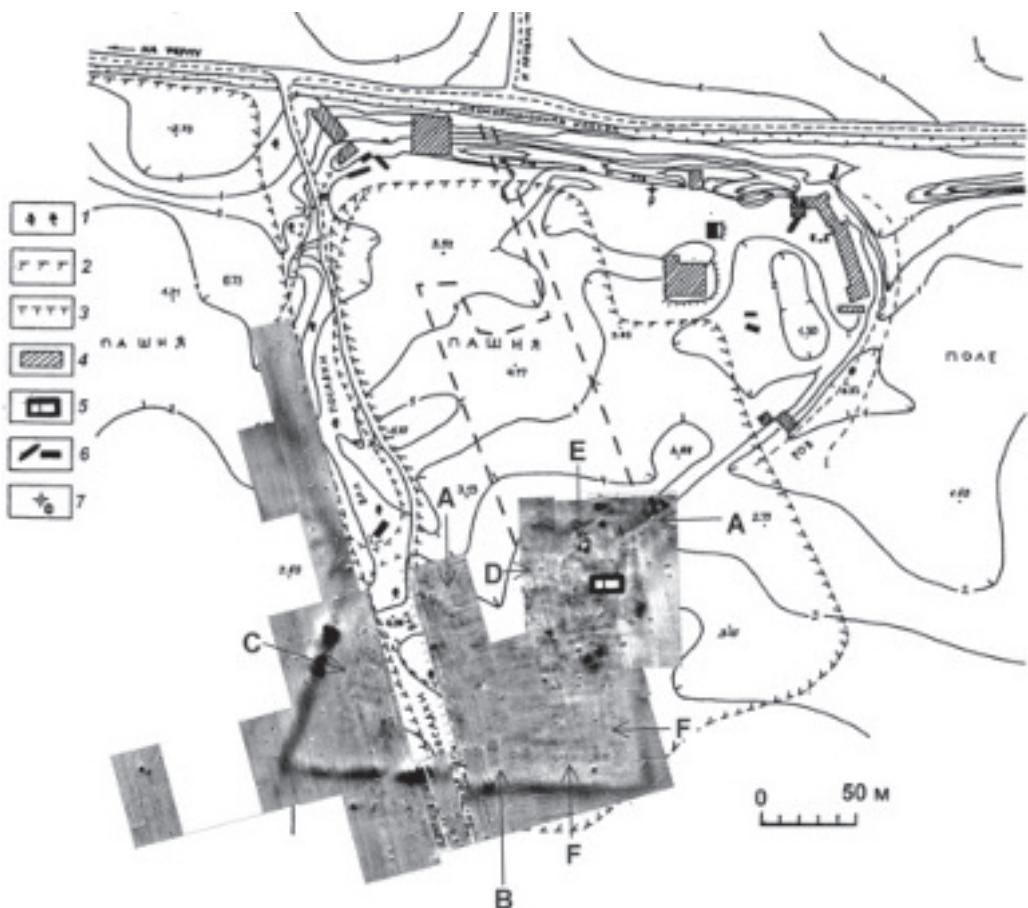


Fig. 4. Magnetic map of the townsite from the surveys of 2006-2008 and results of its interpretation. A – sectional structure of magnetic anomalies in the area of the defensive walls; B – stone building consisting of two rooms; C – large rectangular structure opposite the western gate; D – monumental stone rectangular structure; E – metal workshop. The dotted line shows the area of the magnetic surveys conducted by the German geophysical group in 2006. Used as the background is the topographic plan of the townsite (S.G. Popov 2001, Bosphorus Expedition of the Institute of Material Culture, St Petersburg). Notations in the topographic plan: 1 – forest plantation; 2 – arable field; 3 – irrigation canal; 4 – excavations of 1938-1955; 5 – excavations of 2001-2006; 6 – robber excavations; 7 – topographic reference points.

wall which are outflanked by the ditch by a fairly considerable distance. In this case, it seems, we should rely more on the data of the geomagnetic surveys since they reflect more precisely the real situation. Future excavations may confirm or define more exactly this hypothesis.

The high intensity of the magnetic anomaly of the hypothetical ditch is possibly explained by its strong magnetic fill, which was formed by wooden

features, burnt in a fire, collapsing down into the surrounding ditch. Probably, at some stage during the occupation of the site, a bank was constructed beyond the ditch and walls were erected over it. The walls were constructed not of stone but of wattle and twigs with an earth fill between. In the event of a fire, walls of this kind can gain extremely strong magnetization, and this possibly explains our anomaly. The most intensive burning was probably in the areas of the towers, where the bulk of the wooden structures may have been. In any case, the magnetic anomalies are markedly strengthened where the hypothetical towers were positioned in the middle of the southern, eastern and, to a lesser extent, the western sides. The anomalies here have the form of double peaks and in the centre there is possibly a passage to the gate over the ditch. Near the southern gate, a fairly large stone structure consisting of two rooms is discernible (marked by the letter "B" on Fig. 4).

It is of special note that in the area of the presumed defensive wall some anomalies with a sectional structure are clearly discernible on the magnetic map. These consist of two parallel negative anomalies running 5-6m apart with internal bridges every 6-7m. The chains of these sections stretching along the presumed wall are excellently "readable", both in the oval northern and rectangular southern areas of the townsite (marked by arrows with the letter "A" on Fig. 4). Evidently, excavations are necessary in order to elucidate particular structural details of the settlement's fortification.

Regrettably, in the 1970s a forest shelter-belt was laid throughout the western part of the townsite. The southern gate, towers and the ditch, it seems, were disturbed in the process. On the magnetic map, the positive anomaly related to the ditch almost vanishes within the forest belt, suggesting that the ditch was destroyed by the deep trenching. Furthermore, forest planting has considerably distorted the situation in the southern part of the townsite – in the area where a large rectangular structure (marked by the letter "C" on Fig. 4) was identified on the magnetic map opposite the western gate. This structure seems to have had an important role in the life of the town. It is not without reason that the well-known inscription mentioning the name of the town was uncovered not far from this place, where, in addition, excellently worked stone blocks and even architectural elements come from.

In the most elevated area of the townsite, immediately to the west of Excavation I and marked with a black rectangle on Fig. 4, a monumental stone structure (approximately 15m wide and over 20m long) has been identified on the basis of negative anomalies on the magnetic map (marked by the letter "D" on Fig. 4). There is another interesting stone building to the north of the excavation. Inside it, some strongly magnetic objects – probably kilns and other remains of a "high-temperature" production process – have been noted. In the magnetic field this building is reflected in the form of intensive positive anomalies (marked with the letter "E" on Fig. 4). Possibly we are dealing with a metal workshop here, although the close proximity of the temenos is somewhat surprising. There is also a large building, consisting of a rectangular

yard surrounded by two rows of rooms, at the most southern part of the site (marked with the letter "F" on Fig. 4).

It is impossible to pass over the problem of the pitiful state of the site under consideration. Annually its territory is subjected to deep ploughing, after which an army of local "amateur antiquaries" appears in the field with metal detectors, so exhausting all the metal artefacts, especially the coins, from the cultural deposits.

To conclude, we must note the extraordinary promise of the continuation of magnetic surveys at this townsite. By these studies, we not only gain knowledge of its complicated defensive system but also of its internal layout. Magnetic maps of the site could yield reliable data for establishing the boundaries of the protection zone necessary to safeguard this significant archaeological monument.

### Note

- 1 The author offers her sincere thanks to all the participants of the Bosporan Expedition, and particularly to its director, Vladimir A. Goroncharovskii, and to A.Ju. Eliseev, Research Assistant of the Museum of History, St Petersburg University, for the excellent organization of the field studies and their help in carrying out the magnetic surveys.

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# A Persian Propyleion in Azerbaijan

## Excavations at Karacamirli

Florian Knauss, Iulon Gagoshidze & Ilias Babaev

Since the summer of 2006, archaeological excavations have been carried out at Karacamirli in western Azerbaijan (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> While the chance find of a column base had led us to this site, which is situated just 2km south of the Kura river, already at the end of the first season it had become clear that a monumental building of the Achaemenid period had once been erected on Ideal Tepe, a small mound approximately 200m north of the find-spot of the above-mentioned column base.

By the end of the second campaign in 2007 we had uncovered a huge mud-brick building. Its rectangular ground-plan is almost complete (Fig. 2). Measuring 22m by 23m, it is nearly square in plan, and its dimensions come close to similar buildings in Pasargadae and Susa.<sup>2</sup> The construction consists of a suite of three columned rooms on the central axis: an eastern portico with probably two columns, a central hall with four and another portico to the west with, again, four columns. These rooms were flanked by symmetrical subsidiary elements to the north and south. Visitors had access to these side rooms only from the central hypostyle hall.

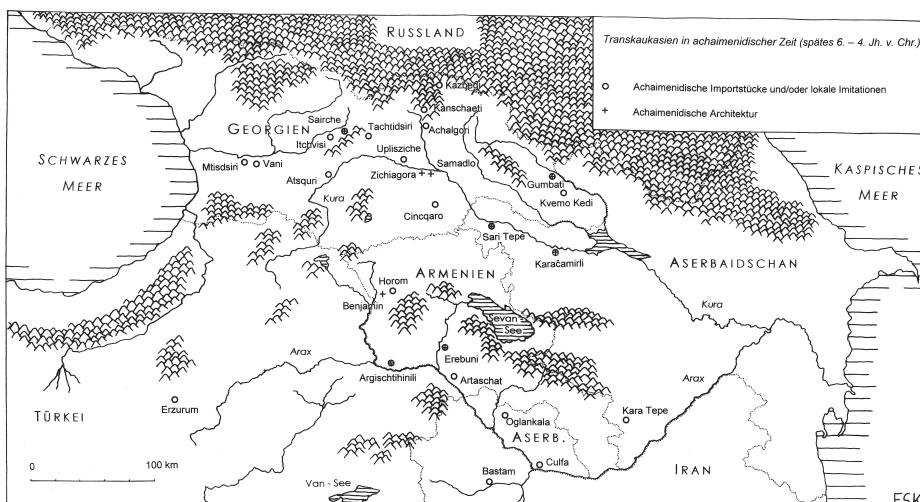


Fig. 1. Achaemenid monuments in the Caucasus.

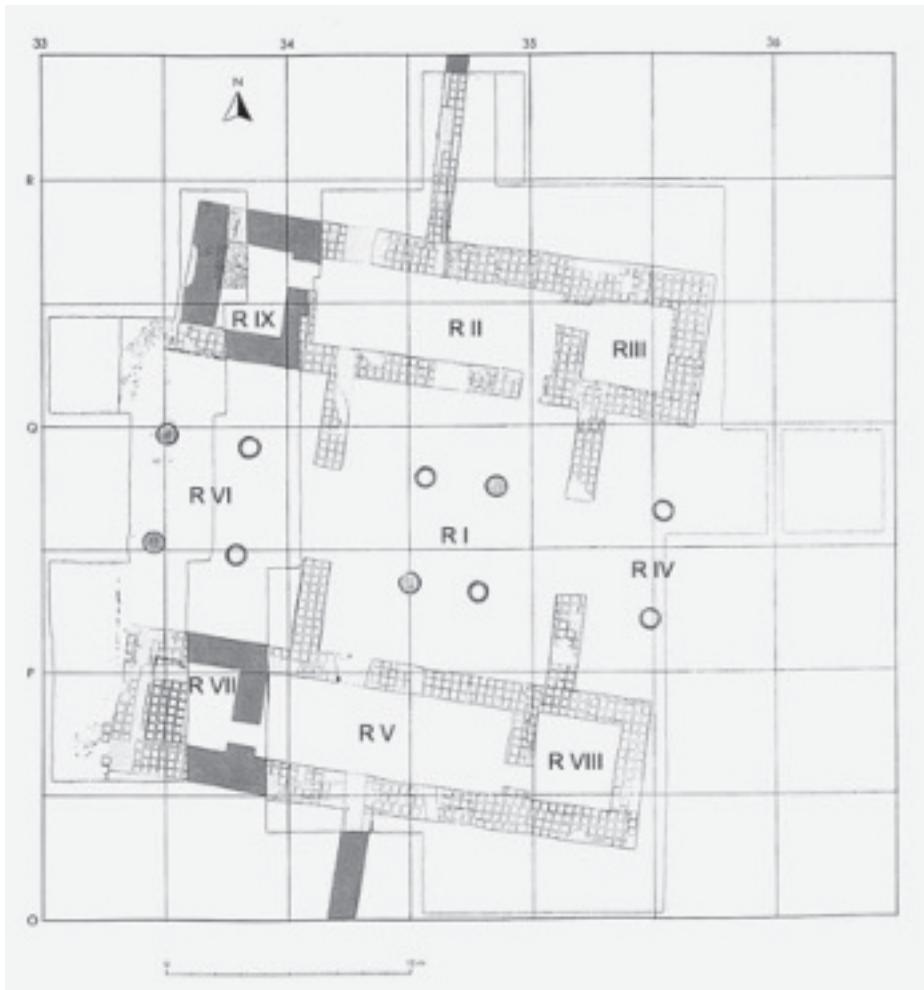


Fig. 2. Plan of the propyleion on Ideal Tepe. Excavated walls are shown in light grey, reconstructed parts are dark grey, bases *in situ* are blue, the positions of the remaining bases are encircled.

The outer walls are almost 1.5m (four bricks) thick, whereas the inner walls measure a little more than 1m (three bricks) in width. The building lacks any ornamentation by means of pilasters and niches, which is characteristic of many Achaemenid structures. A conspicuous mud-brick construction might indicate that there was once a staircase or a kind of podium in the room in the southwestern corner of the building.<sup>3</sup> At the most, four layers of mud-bricks, but sometimes not more than one, were preserved, measuring approximately 34cm by 34cm and 12cm thick.<sup>4</sup> The use of half-bricks facilitated the bonding of the bricks. In cases of uncertainty, a pebblestone foundation, serving as a drainage system, clearly showed us the run of the walls.<sup>5</sup>

We can only guess the former height of the building. However, inferring from the diameter of the column bases, as well as from the width of the walls, a height of 5m or even 6m seems appropriate.<sup>6</sup> The bases measure 89cm in diameter at the bottom, while incisions on top of the bases, on the *torus*, give us a lower diameter of the column shafts of 52cm, i.e. approximately one royal Persian cubit.<sup>7</sup>

Fine traces left by chisels and incisions on the bottom as well as on the front of the bases<sup>8</sup> show that these were worked by skilled stonemasons. The column drums as well as the capitals must have been made of wood, as no limestone fragments of these have been identified among the more than 150 pieces of architectural sculpture that have been found at Karacamirli so far.

It may be worth mentioning that, up to the present day, no column shafts and only two or three capitals made of stone from the Achaemenid era have come to light in the whole of the Caucasus. One of them is the well-known double-bull protome capital from Zikhia-Gora.<sup>9</sup> This piece has been discussed by several scholars in great detail, and I have argued in the past that it had been worked in Achaemenid times.<sup>10</sup> Irrespective of this question, a wooden construction must once have borne the roof of the building on Ideal Tepe, which would have been flat as Mesopotamian roofs generally were.<sup>11</sup>

The wide alleyways on the central axis leave no doubt that this edifice was a monumental gate, a propyleion, a conjecture further supported by the fact that two corresponding walls join the building from the north and south (Fig. 2).

From the beginning, it was clear that this monument had been erected in Achaemenid times due to the characteristic pieces of architectural sculpture (Figs. 3-4). Bell-shaped column bases of the type found are exclusively known from this period and from within the Persian Empire.<sup>12</sup> Outside the major centres in Iran and Babylon the only find-spot so far is the Caucasus. They appear in Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, but nowhere else within or beyond the borders of the vast Persian Empire. Such column bases and stone masonry in general had no tradition at all in this region north of the former Urartian Empire. The rectangular plan of the building, the architectural ornamentation and the use of mud-bricks of regular size prove that this monumental structure at Karacamirli had been planned and built by architects and craftsmen who were familiar with Achaemenid architecture. A comparison of the column bases from Gumbati and from Karacamirli suggests that they were both executed in the same workshop. Good limestone quarries are easily accessible on the banks of the Kura river, not far from the modern city of Shamkir. It was no problem to transport them from here to Gumbati following the Kura and Alazani rivers. Before the arrival of the Persians in the Caucasus, no architecture of a similar size and sophistication had been known to the local population.<sup>13</sup> According to the scarce archaeological evidence, the material culture in neighbouring western Azerbaijan in the second quarter of the first millennium BC was almost identical.<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 3. Column base.

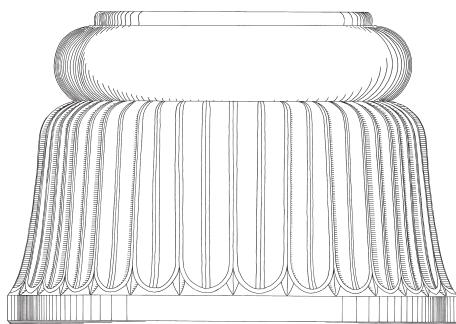


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of a column base.

In trying to date Achaemenid art and architecture by stylistic means we still meet a serious problem. The pottery from the propyleion dates to the mid-fifth to the late fourth century BC (Fig. 5).<sup>15</sup> However, the building may have been founded earlier. For historical reasons, we should expect that the propyleion had been erected not too long after the Persians had conquered this region in the late sixth century BC, probably in the course of the campaign of Dareios I against the Scythians in 513/512 BC.<sup>16</sup>

The site was probably abandoned when the Empire fell apart following the assault of Alexander the Great. Since we have no evidence for a violent destruction at the end of the Achaemenid occupation,<sup>17</sup> it may be that the Persians took their goods and chattels and went home when they received notice of the final defeat of their army and of the death of their Great King, i.e. around 330 BC.

Shortly after – we cannot say whether a few weeks, months or years – local peasants or herdsmen sought shelter in this building. After some years, the central part collapsed and was never rebuilt, but an oven, fire places, pits, grain deposits and pottery in the side rooms tell us that life went on there for quite a while. In particular, the painted pottery, which has been found in significant quantities, helps us to fix a date for this post-Achaemenid level in the late fourth or early third century BC;<sup>18</sup> so far, parallels exist only in eastern Georgia. The central hypostyle part of the building had not been re-

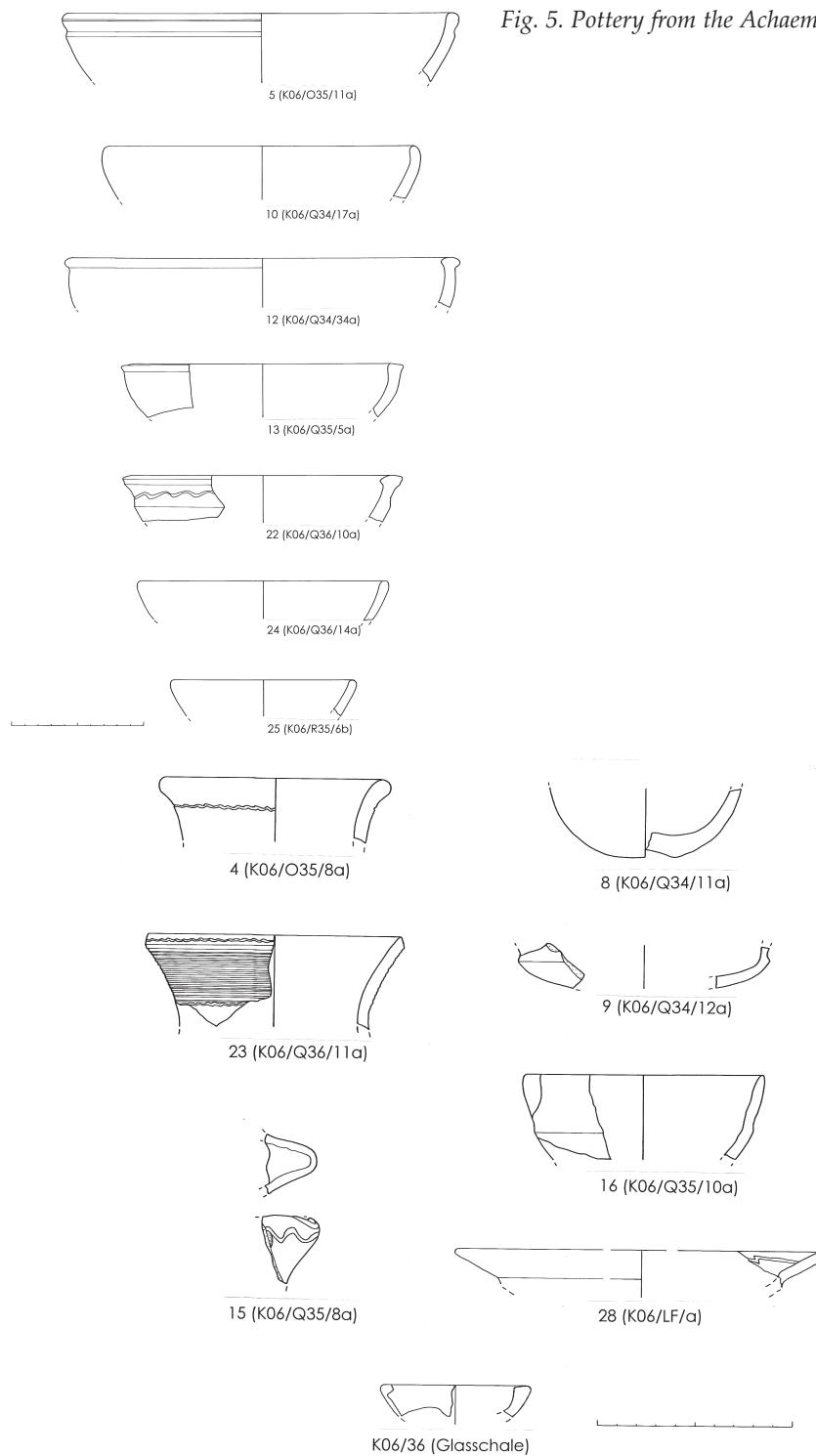




Fig. 6. View of Ideal Tepe from the east, Absinth Tepe in the background.

paired when it collapsed – probably, with a width of more than 11m, it was too wide for the later inhabitants and they had no use for such a large room. However, in the side rooms fragments of roof tiles<sup>19</sup> allow us to assume that some rooms might have received new tiled roofs after a while.

The existence of a monumental propyleion with joining temenos walls is striking evidence that there was once an important Achaemenid residence at Karacamirli. This main building – a temple or, rather, a palace of a Persian chief magistrate – was most probably situated on Absinth Tepe, a flat mound just 200m west of the propyleion. The view from the east through the suite of columned halls points exactly to the top of this tepe (Fig. 6). Here, irregular pits dug by local peasants brought to light mud-bricks as well as a number of limestone fragments and Iron Age pottery.

More limestone fragments and lots of late Iron Age pottery have been found on a third mound 550m southeast<sup>20</sup> as well as at another spot 300m north of Ideal Tepe. Finally, we found large fragments of three column bases of a different type at a place called Daraya Takh between 500m and 950m north of the propyleion (Fig. 7). Their shape is similar to that of the bases from the propyleion and their diameter is a little bit smaller. However, they have no sculpted ornamentation and their surface was smooth, probably painted.<sup>21</sup>

*Fig. 7. Fragment of a column base from Daraya Takh.*



Judging from the archaeological evidence, there was once a spacious architectural ensemble at Karacamirli in Achaemenid times.<sup>22</sup> Even these preliminary results give ample proof that the site was definitely of a higher rank than those Achaemenid building complexes already known from Sari Tepe,<sup>23</sup> 80km to the west, and from Gumbati, about 70km to the north.<sup>24</sup>

The number of Achaemenid remains in Caucasia, in architecture as well as in the minor arts, is very impressive.<sup>25</sup> However, while Achaemenid golden bracelets, silver phialae, etc. still might be explained as objects of trade or as political gifts for the indigenous aristocracy from a mighty neighbour, propyleia, palaces and temples of a distinctive Persian type which have no forerunners at all in this region prove that the Caucasus was part of the Persian Empire, at least up to the Surami ridge which divides Colchis and Iberia. However, even in rainy Colchis, in Sairkhe and in Vani, strong Achaemenid influence can be detected in the architecture as well as in the grave goods of the rich burials.<sup>26</sup>

The propyleion is a Greek invention. Of course, there are lots of impressive monumental gate-houses in Near Eastern and Egyptian architecture, but they are part of city or fortification walls, whereas the Greek propyleion is a building in its own right, without military importance. The intended purpose of the Greek propyleion was to form an impressive, well-adorned entrance to an architectural complex, usually of a sanctuary. From the Greeks, the Persians adopted the idea of the propyleion already during the reign of Cyrus the Great. There are different types of propyleia at Pasargadae and Susa, as well as on the great terrace at Persepolis.<sup>27</sup> The closest analogy for the ground-plan of the propyleion at Karacamirli is the so-called "Central Building", with its central hall,<sup>28</sup> two porticoes and narrow side rooms (Fig. 8), which has been erected during the reign of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. As in Azerbaijan, there are small square rooms in the corners and a long corridor between them. Whereas the purpose of the "Central Building" at Persepolis was to divide the visitors and to lead them in different directions, at Karacamirli the visitors walking through the propyleion probably just entered a courtyard or a garden – similar to the situation in Pasargadae.

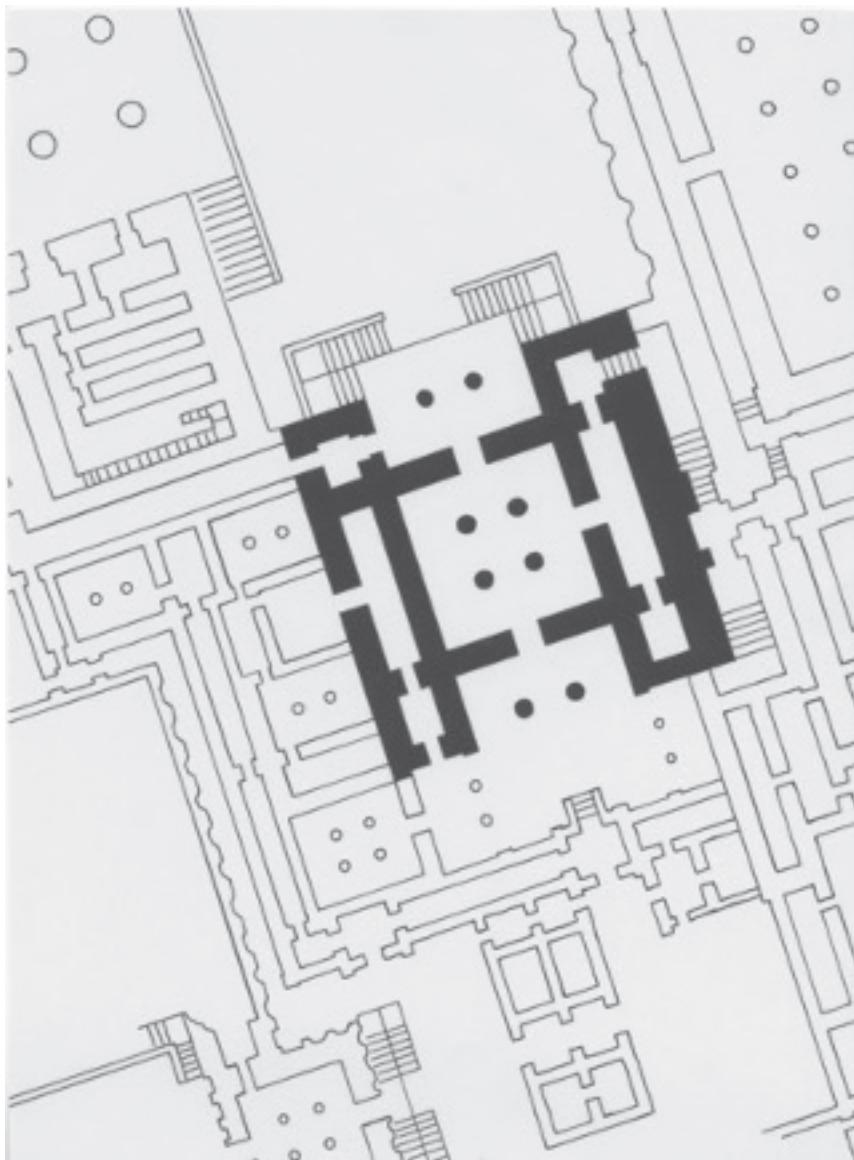


Fig. 8. The "Central Building" at Persepolis.

Karacamirli is situated in a remote part of the Empire. Of course, similar structures from satrapal residences, rather than buildings from Persian capitals, would be the most adequate comparisons for the propyleion on Ideal Tepe. However, our archaeological knowledge of such minor Achaemenid residences, of satrapal or governors' palaces, etc., is still insufficient.<sup>29</sup>

Achaemenid models had a significant impact on Caucasian art and architecture, even in Hellenistic times and especially in the Kingdom of Iberia (central

and eastern Georgia).<sup>30</sup> However, not before the late second century BC do we find buildings similar to the propyleion at Karacamirli in this region. In the huge sanctuary of Dedoplis Mindori there was a Zoroastrian fire temple in a sacred precinct, enclosed by a temenos wall measuring approximately 180m by 250m.<sup>31</sup> Two propyleia in the east and in the west of a square courtyard formed the impressive entrance to the sanctuary. They remind us of the propyleion at Karacamirli, insofar as they also have a deep hall at the outside with four columns and a small one with only two columns. However, here the great hall is on the outside, whereas in Karacamirli the inner (western) portico is twice as deep as the outer (eastern) portico. Furthermore, the propyleia at Dedoplis Mindori lack a third central hall as well as side rooms. The latter elements can be found in the ground-plan of the huge fire temple at Dedoplis Mindori. It has narrow subsidiary rooms and three columned halls: a portico in the south with four columns, a cella in the centre with a square altar and four columns, and, towards the courtyard, a small iwan-like chamber with two columns.

Karacamirli fills a gap in our knowledge of life under the Achaemenids in this area. It shows us that, even at the periphery of the Empire, Persian rule left its grandiose mark. The Achaemenid era was a major turning point in the history of Georgia and Azerbaijan.<sup>32</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Preliminary reports on the first campaign in 2006 have been published: Babaev et al. 2007, 31-45; Babaev et al. 2008, 291-330. In 2007, again, excavations were conducted by Ilyas Babaev (National Academy of Science Baku) and Florian Knauss. Iulon Gagoshidze (National Museum of Georgia, Tbilisi) was an indispensable advisor in many respects. Nadine Ludwig and Gundula Mehnert (both Halle University) took care of the small finds as well as of their graphic documentation; Henryk Löhr (Halle University) and Hagen Schaaff (Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München) were responsible for the photographic documentation; all of them supervised the work in their trenches. Ceyhun Eminli and Emil Iskenderov (Baku) helped us in the field as well as during negotiations with local authorities. The National Academy of Sciences at Baku and the Governor of Shamkir district gave us all the necessary support. Again, Gurban Mehdiyev was a perfect host to our entire team. He protected the site all year long and addressed any potential problems. As in 2006, the Gerda Henkel Foundation financed all our activities.
- 2 Cf. Perrot et al. 1999, 160 (Susa), 162 (Pasargadae).
- 3 Even if the building did not have a second storey, we should assume that steps gave access to the roof.
- 4 Cf. the bricks from Susa measuring 0.33m on average (Perrot et al. 1999, 160).
- 5 Cf. Perrot et al. 1999, 158.
- 6 If we assume the same proportions as at Susa or Persepolis, a height of up to 8m is possible.
- 7 For a detailed description of the column bases, see Wicke in Babaev et al. 2008, 303-309.

- 8 Babaev et al. 2008, 307, figs. 22-23.
- 9 Zkitišvili 1995, 88, figs. 5-6. Two stone capitals have been found at Sairkhe; they resemble strange versions of Doric capitals (Boardman 1994, 222, fig. 6.52). However, Shefton (1993, 178-209) has convincingly argued that the leaf pattern is indebted to Achaemenid models.
- 10 Knauß 1999a, 180-181; Knauss 2006a, 92, fig. 13. 'Recently, a miniature double-bull protome capital of similar form has been found at Vani (Kacharava & Kvirkvelia 2008, 66) in a context of the first half of the fourth century BC (Guram Kvirkvelia, personal communication).
- 11 The reconstruction of the upper part is conjectural, whether the central part was higher than the side rooms or not; cf. Perrot et al. 1999, fig. 6.
- 12 On bell-shaped column bases of the Persian type in the Caucasus, cf. Furtwängler & Knauß 1996, fig. 10; Knauss 2001, 132-133; Wicke in Babaev et al. 2008, 307-309.
- 13 On early Iron Age architecture in eastern Georgia, cf. Knauß 2005a.
- 14 Even though they are not from well-documented excavations, several early Iron Age objects – pottery, so-called "Brotstempel" and terracotta animal masks – in the regional museum at Shamkir show significant similarities with the small finds from Iron Age sites in nearby Kakheti (east Georgia); cf. Babaev et al. 2008, 325.
- 15 Cf. Ludwig & Mehnert in Babaev et al. 2008, 316-317.
- 16 Jacobs 2000, 93-102.
- 17 Babaev et al. 2008, 325.
- 18 Cf. Ludwig & Mehnert in Babaev et al. 2008, 316-318.
- 19 Only calypters have been found.
- 20 Babaev et al. 2008, 293-295, fig. 5: Tepe III.
- 21 Sens in Babaev et al. 2008, 309-313, figs. 26-29.
- 22 In 2008, a geophysical investigation of the site provided a more precise impression of the architectural remains at Karacamirli. The propyleion forms the eastern entrance to a rectangular enclosure wall measuring approximately 450 m by 425 m. The structures on Absinth Tepe lie in the centre of it whereas another huge building is situated at the northwestern corner of the enclosure wall.
- 23 Cf. Narimanov 1960, 162-164; Furtwängler 1995, 183-184; Knauß 1999a, 94-96, 101-103, figs. 9, 10c, 11, 15.
- 24 Cf. Furtwängler 1995; Furtwängler & Knauß 1996; Furtwängler & Knauß 1997, 353-354; Knauß 2000a, 119-130; Knauss 2001, 125-143.
- 25 For a recent survey, cf. Knauss 2005b, 197-220; Knauss 2006a, 79-118.
- 26 Cf. Knauß 2000b, 86-87; Knauss 2006a, 84-85, 92; Knauß 2009. The latest excavations in the necropolis of Vani again provided impressive evidence for significant Achaemenid influence; cf. Kacharava & Kvirkvelia 2008, 60-61, 66, 130, 151, 153, 180-182. For instance, a Colchian silver belt with the depiction of a male, reclining on a *kline* wearing earrings and a tiara and holding a Persian cup in a distinctive eastern manner, clearly shows that at least the Colchian aristocracy was eager to adopt Persian habits.
- 27 Cf. Perrot et al. 1999, figs. 2-7. For the latest surveys of Achaemenid monumental architecture, cf. Curtis in Curtis & Tallis 2005, 30-49; Curtis & Razmjou in Curtis & Tallis 2005, 50-55; Knauß in Speyer 2006b, 100-111.
- 28 The preference of the early Achaemenid architects for a module of a square room with four columns, seen at Susa, Pasargadae and Persepolis, has been noted previously; cf. Perrot et al. 1999, 162 – additional evidence for an early date of the structure at Karacamirli.

29 Although excavations have been carried out at Daskyleion, Sardis and Meydancikkale, we have mainly literary evidence for the satrapal residences of Asia Minor. The situation is similar in other parts of the Empire; cf. Nielsen 1994, 51-72; Knauf 1999b, 99-100; Klinkott 2005.

30 Knauss 2006a, 107-114.

31 Cf. Gagoshidze 1992, 27-48; Knauss 2006a, 103-107; Furtwängler & Gagoshidze 2008.

32 Gagoshidze 1996, esp. 136.

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# Persian Imperial Policy Behind the Rise and Fall of the Cimmerian Bosporus in the Last Quarter of the Sixth to the Beginning of the Fifth Century BC

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The aim of the following paper is to recollect arguments for the hypotheses of a substantial Persian interference in the Greek colonies of the Cimmerian Bosporus and that they remained not untouched by Achaemenid policy in western Anatolia. The settlements ought to have been affected positively in their prime in the last quarter of the sixth century, but also harmed during their first major crisis at the beginning of the fifth century and afterwards. A serious break in the tight interrelationship between the Bosporan area and Achaemenid Anatolia occurred through the replacement of the Archaeaenactid dynasty, ruling the Cimmerian Bosporus from 480 onwards, in favour of the succeeding Spartocids by an Athenian naval expedition under the command of Pericles in the year 438/437.<sup>1</sup>

The assumption of a predominant Persian influence to the north of the Caucasus mountains contradicts the still current theory of V. Tolstikov<sup>2</sup> and the late Yu.G. Vinogradov,<sup>3</sup> who favour instead a major Scythian or local impact as a decisive factor at the Bosporan sites.<sup>4</sup> To challenge this traditional position, this paper will follow the successive stages of architectural development in the central settlement of Pantikapaion on its way to becoming the capital of the region. The argumentation is necessarily based on a parallelization of stratigraphical evidence with historical sources, since decisive archaeological data to support either the Persian or the Scythian hypothesis are few.

## *Maximum contra minimal interpretation*

The discussion about Persian influence on the northern Pontic coast was revived in 1997 by N.F. Fedoseev, who compiled some Persian and Persian-inspired objects of the minor arts from the area, mostly seals and coins, and opted for a far-reaching Achaemenid control of these territories on the basis of a note from Strabon that, in fact, should not be interpreted in this way.<sup>5</sup>

This theory was critiqued by E.A. Molev in 2001,<sup>6</sup> who replied directly that the material quoted, "...only proves the economic and cultural connection between the colonies and their metropoleis, through which some elements of

Achaemenid culture were transferred, not more". The most recent compilation of Persian and Persian-inspired material from the northern Pontic area may be found in M. Treister's contribution in this volume.

Bearing in mind the quantitative and diagnostic limitations of the material available, it is not easy to prove Persian presence or dominance, but, on the other hand, it is far from easy to discard the hypothesis either. Other places which are known from the written sources to be undoubtably under Persian rule, such as Miletos or Ephesos, have not produced large collections of Persian-related material so far. It is instead through the written sources, mainly Herodotos, that these places are known for certain to be Persian at particular periods. The great Father of History nearly fails to report anything about the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which was probably too far from his Aegean area of focus. Nevertheless, the general historical context described by him speaks of a substantial affection for the whole Ionian colonial network, from the period before Dareios I's Scythian campaign, commonly dated to 514, up to the Ionian revolt after 499/498<sup>7</sup> and onwards through the Persian Wars until the Attic Delian League was strong enough to include individual places like Nymphaion in its zone of influence and drive the Persian forces back from the coasts into inland Anatolia.

### *1. Persian desire for expansion as a motor for the strengthening of the Ionian colonial network*

#### 1.1. A horizon of dugout architecture

The so-called great Milesian or Ionian colonization started and remained on quite a modest level, architecturally, throughout the greater part of the sixth century.<sup>8</sup> At strategic points all along the Black Sea coast a sequence of trading posts was established, but their outer appearance could not have been humbler.<sup>9</sup>

Simple small pit-houses, similar to those used by the indigenous, semi-nomadic population, were found in most of the Greek colonies on the northern Black Sea littoral. These constructions were designed for seasonal shelter during a short period of barter-trade rather than for the housing of farmers, who planned to live in these places with their families for years. The classical reconstruction of a dugout, which allows for only 4-6m<sup>2</sup> of space under the ground level of the hut, may be incorrect in the sense that there was probably a wooden hut built on top of the pit, which used the occasionally rather shallow depression as a cellar. Such a hut may well be constructed without archaeologically detectable postholes by the use of a foundation frame of timbers. The earliest appearance of a Greek colony might, nevertheless, have been that of a seasonal port, marked by moored ships and a few shelters for basic protection not far from the shore. The actual trading partners can be thought of as having passed by in the course of their seasonal transhumance. The seaborne tradesmen, therefore, may be referred to as semi-nomadic in the

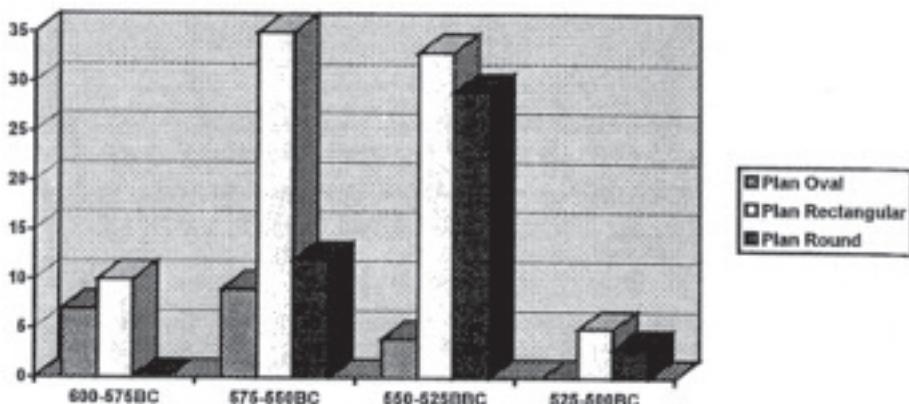


Fig. 1. Intensity of dugout construction at Berezan (Solovyov 1999, fig. 17).

same way as their Scythian customers are. For both of them, the feeble huts were obviously sufficient and well adapted to the local climate. The dugout or semi-dugout huts constructed exclusively on the northern Pontic coast until the last quarter of the sixth century were certainly not of much interest to the Persian rulers in Anatolia, although they provided a base for the collection of knowledge about inner Scythia.

#### 1.2. The foundation of new colonies and a horizon of stone architecture in the already existing ones

When Dareios I became ruler of the Persian Empire in 522, an Achaemenid Persian interest in the northern Pontic zone arose. The Great King directed a military campaign against the Scythians in or around 514, which, according to Herodotus (book 4), was disastrous. One has to ask what Dareios I's motives for such an endeavour were, but will be left without a convincing answer. Whatever his reasons might have been, the large, but unsuccessful conquest should not be considered as the unplanned adventure Herodotus suggests. A principally non-urgent project like this,<sup>10</sup> under the personal leadership of the Great King himself, certainly required several years of planning. Ctesias book 20 records that a successful minor campaign was launched against the Scythians under General Ariaramnes, the satrap of Kappadokia, most probably in 519. It remains unknown which part of Scythia was seized by him with his fleet of 30 penteconters, but it might well have been the Bosporan area. It would fit perfectly with these somewhat isolated historical tidings that the Anatolian satraps enforced Ionian and Dorian entrepreneurs, via their local tyrants, to strengthen the already existing colonial network as logistical preparation for the campaign in planning. In the last quarter of the sixth century we do indeed see a rapid development.

At least one new colony was positioned in a strategic position suitable to

supply an army taking the western route around the Black Sea,<sup>11</sup> according to Pseudo-Scymnos this was Mesambria.<sup>12</sup> The foundation of Callatis "around 520" to the south of Tomis, half-way between Mesambria and the Danube delta by the most persophile city of Heracleia Pontica,<sup>13</sup> could be considered an ideal preparation for the Darian campaign to Scythia.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, as John Hind has pointed out, we still lack archaeological material to prove a late Archaic settlement underneath the late Classical one. A somewhat similar case is the establishment of an *emporion* and later a colony at Chersonesos in western Crimea<sup>15</sup> by the same metropolis, where again a date in the late Archaic period can be based only on a small amount of pottery.

Even at the far northeastern end of the Sea of Asov, at the mouth of the River Don, the already long-existing trading post at Taganrog<sup>16</sup> was shifted to the acropolis of Elisavetovka, which might be considered a defensive improvement. This may appear, at first sight, to be a very secondary effect of a general enthusiasm for colonial enterprise. On the other hand, it complies with Herodotos' report, which states that during the first phase of the campaign the Persian army followed a Scythian detachment under Scopasis all the way along the coast of the Maiotian Sea and even across the Tanais river. The Scythians destroyed all kinds of forage on their way, but the Persians still made good pursuit.<sup>17</sup> If this widespread roaming far away from the heartland of Scythia and even further away from the base camp at the Danube is not totally fictitious, the Persians may well have waged this risky encounter since they could probably rely on supplies deposited at coastal stations. Unfortunately, Herodotos does not report how the army was supplied, but certainly it was still strong enough to go even further inland afterwards on its way back to the Danube bridge. Even if the campaign generally failed in Greek eyes, some territories were actually conquered by the Persians. The foundation by the Milesian tyrant Histiaios of Myrkinos near later Amphipolis with royal Persian approval can serve as a model for the general benevolence of the Persian authorities towards the Ionians as trustworthy comrades after 514 as well. This special case, reported again by Herodotos,<sup>18</sup> served to secure the conquered part of Thrace and to control the Thasian area, where, already at the end of the sixth century, large quantities of trading goods came from, notably wine in Protothasian amphorae, and where, as the critical Megabyzos says, wood for shipbuilding was abundant and silver mines were present. The whole Strymon valley can be considered as the hinterland of the new foundation.

More important than the foundation of new colonies, and better recorded, is the rapid architectural development in the already existing poleis after 520. At Pantikapaion, the construction of mud-brick houses on stone foundations for civic life and of a stone-paved agora, as well as the erection of impressive stone buildings on the acropolis, took place.<sup>19</sup> The central position is held by a tholos, which is surrounded by solid, so-called multi-chamber buildings. Sherds of a Panathenaic amphora and a lavishly decorated bath-tub attest a certain cultic or high-ranking administrative function for the whole complex.<sup>20</sup>

Possibly already in the sixth century, tyrants who had close connections to Miletos and the Persian overlords in Anatolia were in power at Pantikapaion.

A similar architectural development concerning houses for civic life is attested for the satellite settlements of Tyritake and Myrmekion.<sup>21</sup> Corresponding to the development of the urban centres, the chorai of the Bosporan colonies where also enlarged in the last quarter of the sixth century. Saprykin has recently calculated that the number of settlements on the Taman peninsula rose from 30 in the third quarter to 63 in the last quarter of the sixth century and reached over 100 after 480.<sup>22</sup> This resulted in a significant increase in the demand for cereal products and, subsequently, in agriculture, not only during the phase of the Scythian campaign but also afterwards through the time of the Persian Wars in western Anatolia and mainland Greece and in the following Archaeaenactid period.

The region of Olbia enjoyed a similar phase of wealth with the erection of stone architecture and, according to A.S. Rusjaeva, a new wave of colonists from Miletos, the metropolis, who established the cult of Apollon Delphinios.<sup>23</sup> Berezan obtained the status of a city.

## *2. A horizon of destruction interpreted as a consequence of the Ionian revolt*

With the revolt in Ionia of 499, with Miletos at its head, Persian support for the Ionians necessarily ended in the Black Sea as well. A minor "Persian" fleet operating from Sinop or the Dorian Heracleia Pontike could easily have destroyed the Ionian colonial network, especially if all the western Anatolian navies, except those of the Black Sea poleis, were gathering in the Aegean Sea.<sup>24</sup> There was good reason for the Persians to destroy a Milesian thalassocracy before attacking the metropolis itself and there might have been good reasons for the north Anatolian poleis to join in such an action. This view is indirectly supported by Herodotos, who states that the Milesians themselves were discussing the matter.<sup>25</sup> Hekataios advised his fellow citizens to do their best to become rulers of the sea, in order to have any chance of surviving a war with Persia. The Persians, of course, knew this too. Herodotos does not mention any Pontic ships on either side in his description of the Battle of Lade.<sup>26</sup> But there must have existed some if the story about Ariaramnes conquering a part of Scythia with a naval force around 519 is to make sense. As Herodotos states that troops from all territories west of the Halys river were gathered to fight the Ionians after the sack of Sardis, the suppression of the revolt was probably considered by the Persians to be a problem of the Lydian satrapy alone.<sup>27</sup> An eastern Anatolian satrap, such as, for example, the successor of Ariaramnes in Kappadokia, in whose sphere of interest the Bosphorus certainly would have fallen, may have interfered on his own behalf in order to take advantage of the situation. Greek poleis on the northern Turkish coast, like the Dorian and most persophile Heracleia Pontike, might have been quite willing to expel the western Anatolian rivals from the Scythian market in favour of their own trade.

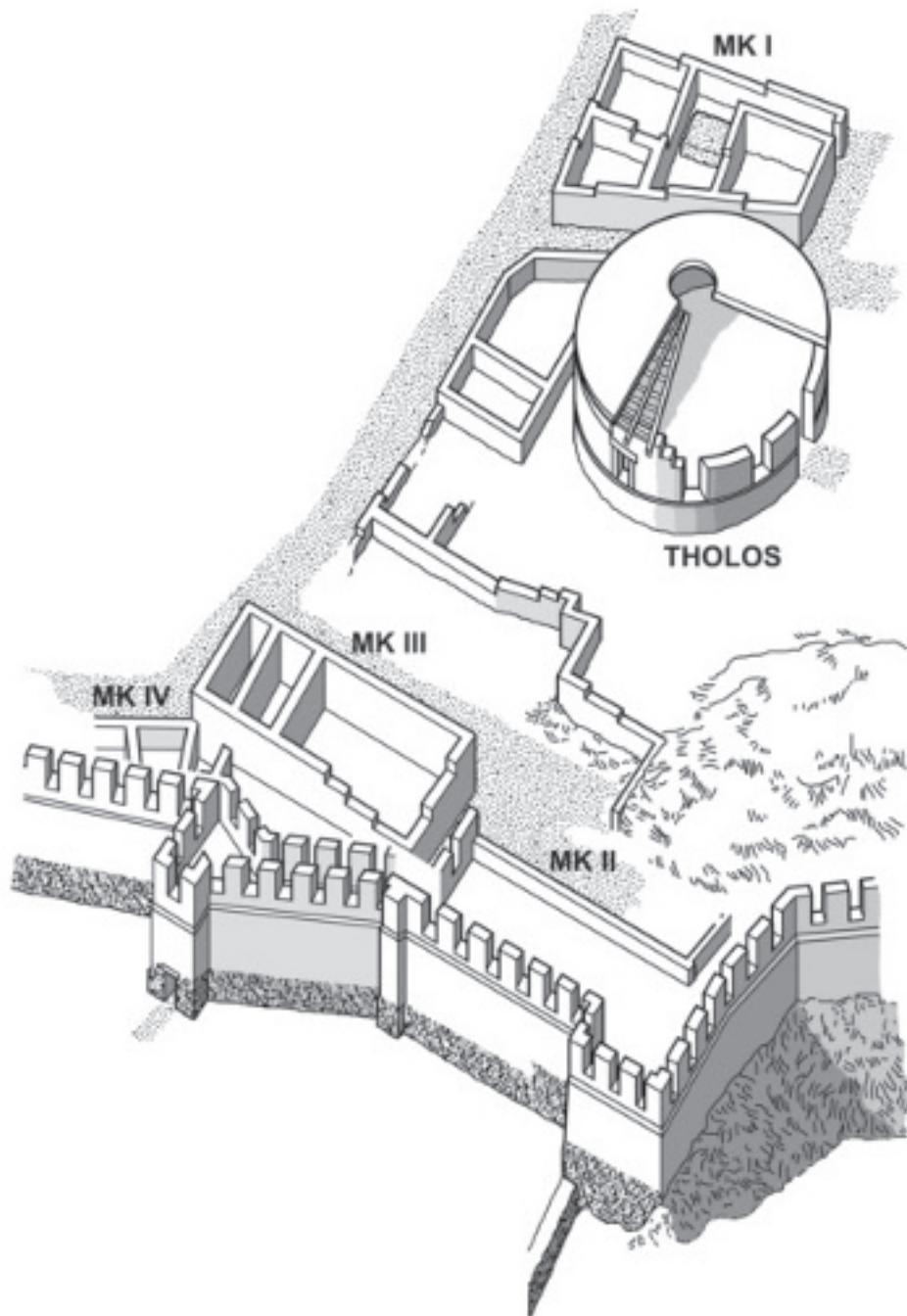


Fig. 2. Pantikapaion: reconstruction of the western plateau (after Tolstikov 2003, 328).

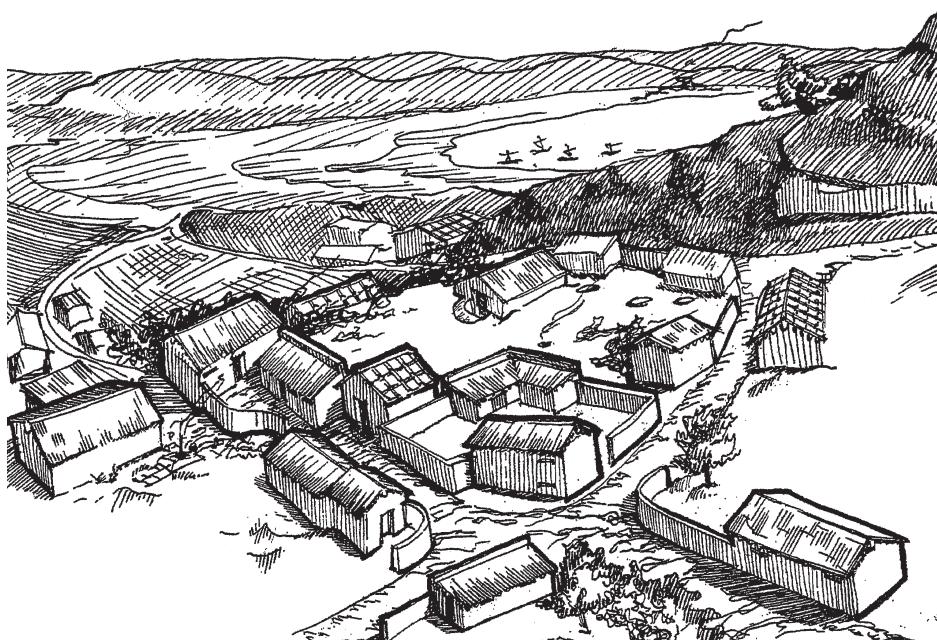


Fig. 3. Pantikapaion: reconstruction of the new esplanade quarter (Treister 2003, 568).

#### *The archaeological feature at the Cimmerian Bosporus*

In Pantikapaion and the surrounding Bosporan area an extensive horizon of destruction is attested for the first decade of the fifth century.<sup>28</sup> The above-mentioned marvellous buildings on the acropolis and the fortification wall were ruined and burnt down.<sup>29</sup> In building MK III some 23 arrowheads were found, of which three were found still stuck in the walls. In a destroyed workshop of the new esplanade quarter a single *akinakes* and 250 armoury-scales confirm that there were even "Scythians" or "Sindians" defending the city, or, alternatively, that Greeks obtained local weapons instead of the usual hoplite set of armour. Similar devastations and a few pieces of martial equipment have been recognized at nearly all archaeological sites in the area in which late Archaic levels have been excavated.

V. Tolstikov, the excavator of the acropolis at Pantikapaion, and the late J.G. Vinogradov considered the devastations to be the result of a Scythian attack. They linked the conflict to social developments among the royal Scythians caused by the invasion of the Persian army led by Dareios I in 514. The sack of the Greek colonies of the Bosporus would then only be a very indirect consequence of an unsuccessful Persian attempt at expansion. This far-fetched explanation does not make sense as a strong Scythian leadership would certainly have preferred to control intact Greek trading posts rather than to destroy the basis of regular income from luxury items. The local inhabitants of

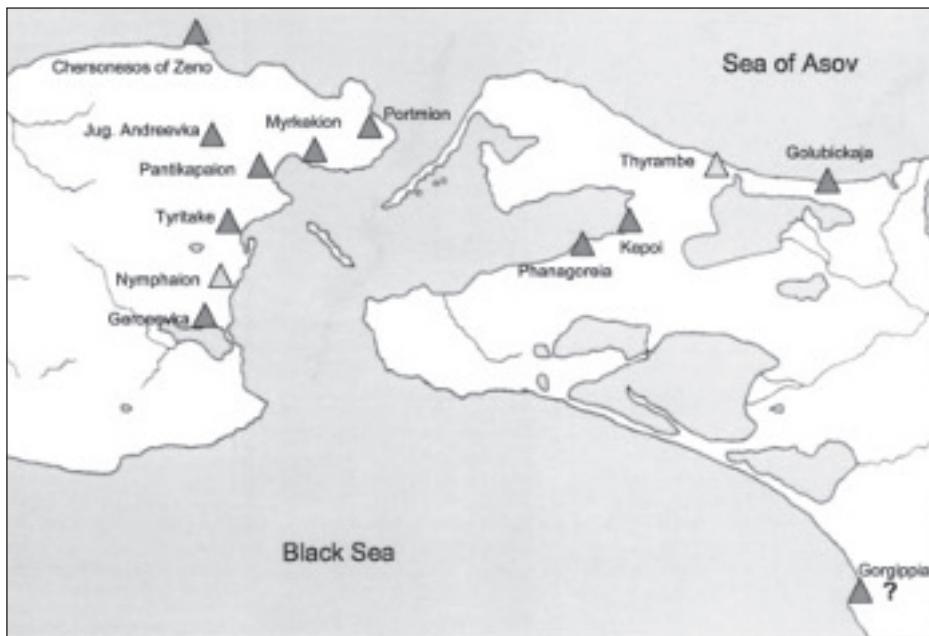


Fig. 4. *Sites of the Cimmerian Bosporus bearing traces of violent destruction at the beginning of the fifth century BC. Black: settlements; Grey: coin hoards.*

Crimea, whether hierarchical or not, had no reason to destroy "their" Greek colonies either, as long as the regular transfer of cattle and people over the frozen Bosphorus in winter was not harmed. There had already been a concentration of local settlements (and graves) in the areas around the colonies, most probably so as to benefit from the presence of the colonies. (Maslennikov 1995, 32-33.)

Given the contemporary Ionian revolt and the fact that the colonies of the Cimmerian Bosphorus were Ionian settlements, the material from the horizon of destruction should be labelled as "Perserschutt", like that of the Athenian acropolis and agora. With this assumption, a good amount of material for comparative studies between the much-debated debris from Athens and that of the Ionian coast can be identified. It seems, so far as such a statement is possible, as if the disaster was limited only to the larger and smaller urban centres on the coast without having a deeper impact on the inland chora. This may be a slight hint that the enemy came from the sea and was interested in extinguishing major structures but not necessarily every single farm and village. In my opinion, this has the fingerprint of an official naval force rather than that of raiding nomad cavalry or angry local neighbours.

### 3. Ongoing Medism during the reign of the Archaeaenactids

In the aftermath of the Persian War, from 480 the reign of the Archaeaenactids as a kind of tyranny follows the characteristic Persian anti-democratic model of government.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, it is possible to consider the regime to be supported or accepted by the Persians, or at least not to be in total opposition to them. The Persian rulers in Anatolia generally established tyrants in the Anatolian Greek cities, where they maintained control before and after the Battle of Salamis. For example, at Samos a certain Theomestor was put in power as reward for his choice of side.<sup>31</sup>

The first thing the new Bosporan dynasts did, with great effort, was to protect their acropoleis by constructing new fortifications, even if people on the acropolis had to dwell in dugout huts again.<sup>32</sup> Several huts were constructed directly on the ruins of the multi-chambered buildings. As they contained evidence of metal production, they can be considered as workshops or as workmen's shelters. Otherwise, very little is known about the Archaeaenactid period. At least it can be counted as a sign of the tyrants' persophilic that they were expelled from power in favour of the Spartocids, probably with the assistance of Pericles' naval expedition in 438/437. Striking evidence for an official Pantikapaion Medism is a change in the coin-standard from Aeginetian in the late Archaic period to Persian after ca. 490, as V.A. Anochin<sup>33</sup> first observed. This confirms a strong Persian commercial presence, not to say pressure, in the region and the wish to participate in the Persian market.<sup>34</sup> One may assume the presence of Persian ambassadors and merchants in the Bosphorus as well. Even if their archaeological context remains unknown, there exist two Achaemenid cylinder seals "from Kerch" which are executed in fine and original Achaemenid court style.<sup>35</sup> They show Persian warriors or kings fighting and subduing enemies. On the first seal, the targets are distinctly characterized as Greek hoplites, while on the second one, bearing the name of the Great King Artaxerxes, they are more generally depicted in Oriental costume, their leader wearing an Egyptian crown. The scene both resembles and varies from the famous Bisitun relief of Dareios I in which the Great King is depicted directing a group of bound enemies who are standing opposite him. Passing by, he crushes another foe with his foot and bow-tip. The royal name and the depiction of the palm tree on the Bosporan seal directly identify its bearer as a messenger of the Great King.<sup>36</sup> Boardman considered original court-style seals in Anatolia to originate from the early phase of Persian dominion, i.e. the later sixth and first half of the fifth century, when the leading elites were still in the process of formation and therefore used tokens of direct court contact as symbols of power.<sup>37</sup>

A stylistic comparison of the leading figures on the seals with the depiction of the hero-warrior on Persian official coins results in both cases in a date closer to the earlier type, i.e. in the first half of the fifth century. It is worth paying attention to the realistically depicted silhouette of the hero's back and

leg which push through the thin dress. In the later coins, this is reduced to a mere impressionistic rendering of the drapery. Therefore, these seals must have belonged originally to high ranking Persian officers during the Archaeanactid period. Since they were bought on the art market, one can only guess that they might have been buried in a late Classical tumulus, which was plundered in the later 19th century. Due to the unknown contextual conditions, one will never know whether the seals could also have been obtained and used during the fourth century. A parallel is given by two Georgian court-style seals which were found in late Classical graves.<sup>38</sup> These pieces were certainly in use for a long time before they entered the graves. It remains debatable whether such highly prestigious, but personal objects could have circulated freely throughout the Pontic area or were instead closely kept as family heirlooms over more than 100 years. Only in the second case is there testimony of a distinguished Persian or Persian-related officer in the region in which they were actually found.

#### *4. A brief statement by Herodotus from the third quarter of the fifth century*

Herodotus (3.97.4) gives only a very short comment concerning Persian rule in the eastern half of the Black Sea after he had given an account of how satrapies and taxes were installed by Dareios I after his coronation in 522 BC:

The Colchians also had set themselves among those who brought gifts, and with them those who border upon them extending as far as the range of the Caucasus (for the Persian rule extends as far as these mountains, but those who dwell in the parts beyond Caucasus toward the North Wind regard the Persians no longer) – these, I say, continued to bring the gifts which they had fixed for themselves every four years even down to my own time, that is to say, a hundred boys and a hundred maidens (translation: Macaulay, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hh/hh3090.htm>).

This passage is quoted especially by E.A. Molev as overwhelming proof that Persian rule extended not further to the north than the Caucasus mountain range. However, the contrary should be read into it. The Greek text has:

τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει

οὐδὲν ἔτι should be understood in a temporal sense and not from a geographical or gradual aspect.<sup>39</sup> The people to the north of the mountains regard the Persians *not any longer* at Herodotus' own time of writing sometime between 447 and ca. 425. Indirectly, this is indeed valuable proof that they had been under Persian dominance at some time not long before. The overall context makes it clear that the period of Dareios I and afterwards is meant, as the pas-

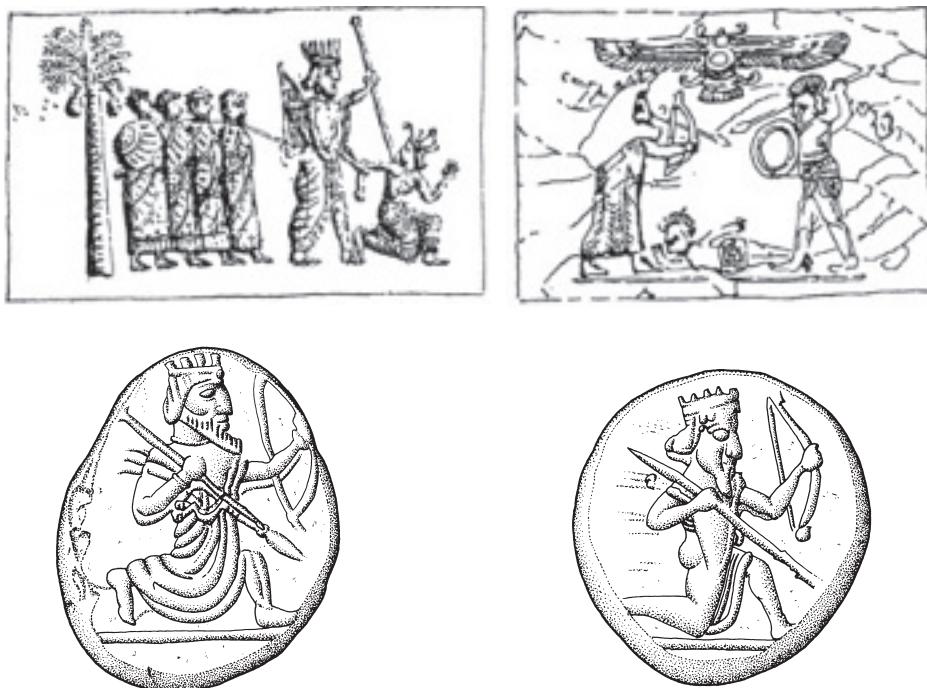


Fig. 5. Two cylinder seals from Kerch (Minns 1913, 411). Siglos type III b (early) 500-475 and Daric type III b late 425-375 (Weisser 2006, 74).

sage is positioned at the end of the list of satrapies established by that king. The next statement, that the Colchians, *even in the author's own time still* offer gifts, provides additional evidence that in the preceding passage the status of a past time is being described. This is confirmed by a similar phrase used about the Ethiopians before the Colchians are mentioned. The author shifts from the past tense in the description of the list of satrapies to the present and back again, which is another sign indicating reference to different chronological levels.<sup>40</sup> The critical event, when the territories north of the Caucasus extinguished Persian dominance, may well be Pericles' expedition in 438, but the author does not stress this.

### Summary

To conclude, it seems as if the Greeks communities lost the Persian Wars in the Cimmerian Bosphorus after they had profited from the Darian campaign against the Scythians, one way or another, during the preceding two decades. We have no decisive evidence as to who ruined most of the Bosporan settlements at the beginning of the fifth century, as no ancient writer bothers to tell us. Certainly, it could have been an internal Greek affair or a local

conflict with the Sindoi or Crimean Scythians or even a combination of both. However, the chronological coincidence of the archaeological material with the historically reported war in western Anatolia, which deeply affected the Ionian metropoleis, plus the numismatic, glyptic and textual evidence for the period after the destruction should not be neglected. Any Persian satrap from eastern Anatolia may well have been responsible for the devastation, even if he had sent Greeks from the southern Black Sea coast or Pontic non-Greek forces to do his dirty work. If the Persians were responsible, it will be impossible to determine the real enemy in the Bosphorus from archaeological material, such as weaponry, alone.

## Notes

- 1 Braund 2005, 86.
- 2 Tolstikov 1984, 25.
- 3 Vinogradov 1980, 69-70. See also Maslennikov 2001, 247, 249.
- 4 Discussion at the Bosporan Kingdom Conference, Sandbjerg 2009, demonstrated this to a high degree. See as well, Treister this volume.
- 5 Fedoseev (1997, 315) quotes a lecture given by G.A. Koshelenko, who had the idea that the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which is catalogued under "Asia" in Strabon 11.2.5-10, should therefore be reckoned as one of the territories governed by the Persians, which is quite unconvincing.
- 6 Molev 2001, 29.
- 7 Hdt. books 4 and 5.
- 8 Tsetskhladze 2004, 226-278.
- 9 Berezan, Olbia and its chora, Nikonion, Kerkinitis, Pantikapaion, Nymphaion, Myrmekion, Thymame, Gorgippa. See above, Tsetskhladze 2004, 230-240.
- 10 Non-urgent in the sense that there was no revolt or other provocation we know of in Scythia which required instant subduing.
- 11 Hdt. 4.118.
- 12 Pseudo-Scymnos 788-843. The Chalkedonians and Megarians founded Mesambria "at the time when Dareios made his expedition against the Scythians". See Hind 1998, 138.
- 13 Summerer 2005, 243. Justin 16.3.
- 14 Hind 1998, 139.
- 15 Hind 1998, 141-144 for a revised dating of objects formerly considered to be Archaic.
- 16 Dally 2008.
- 17 Hdt. 4. 120-122.
- 18 Hdt. 5.11, 5.23.
- 19 Treister 2003; Tolstikov et al. 2004.
- 20 Fornasier, Böttger 2002, 45.
- 21 V.A. Zinko and A. Butjagin at the the Bosporan Kingdom Conference, Sandbjerg 2009.
- 22 Saprykin 2006, 274-277.
- 23 Rusjaeva 2003, 96. The traditional opinion to be challenged here is that these people came as a result of their disagreement with Persian rule in Anatolia.
- 24 Hdt. 6.7.

25 Hdt. 5.36.

26 Hdt. 6.6, 6.8.

27 Jacobs 1994, 119.

28 Tolstikov 1984, 27; Maslennikov 2001, 249.

29 Tolstikov et al. 2004, 328.

30 Diod. 12.31.1 states 42 years of government before the reign of Spartakos, i.e. 480/479 to 438/437 BC.

31 Hdt. 8.85. Cf. Wachsmuth 1832, 406. See also Briant 2001, 532. The expulsion of all western Anatolian tyrants in favour of democracies by Mardonios (Hdt. 6.43) may be reckoned as exceptional.

32 Tolstikov et al. 2004, 328.

33 Anochin 1986, 23.

34 V. Stolbas' paper given at Sandbjerg in 2008 recollected the related material and underlined Anochin's thesis.

35 Minns 1913, 413; Treister this volume, no. 15.

36 See also, Ellen Rehm's article on the classification of objects from the Black Sea region in this volume. At least three seals with the names of Great Kings show the image of the date-palm tree: Dareios I (London BMWA 89132, Boardman 2000, fig.5.9); the one described here, naming Artaxerxes (St Petersburg 19499, Boardman 2000, fig. 5.6); and Xerxes on a seal impression from Daskyleion in Istanbul (Boardman 2000, fig. 5.15).

37 Boardman 1970, 325.

38 Dzhavakhishvili 2007, 126, figs. 1-2.

39 In the sense that Persian rule would have extended towards the Caucasus, *not further to the north*.

40 Many thanks to Dr George Hinge for discussing the philological aspects of my interpretation.

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# The Impact of the Achaemenids on Thrace: A Historical Review<sup>1</sup>

*Ellen Rehm*

## *Introduction*

This brief introduction<sup>2</sup> presents the region in question and the historical and political situation regarding the relationship of Thrace and the Thracian tribes with the Achaemenid Empire.

Ancient Thrace lay between the northern Carpathians and the Aegean Sea (see Fig. 1). It was largely identical to the modern state of Bulgaria, with some regions now situated within the modern states of Moldavia, Romania, northern Greece, Macedonia and Serbia. The northern frontier was the Danube. Dominant features of the landscape are the Balkan mountains, the Rodopen in the south and the Strandsha mountains in the west. Due to the distinctive landscape of the whole Balkan peninsula, there are very few natural highways. This resulted in separate and autonomous population groups and made the region difficult for an enemy to capture. The first good network of roads must date to the Roman period<sup>3</sup>.

European Thracians were mentioned by Herodotus in his *Histories*<sup>4</sup> on the occasion of the campaign by Dareios I (521-486 BC):

Before arriving at the Ister, the first people whom he subdued were the Getae, who believe in their immortality. The Thracians of Salmydessus, and those who dwelt above the cities of Apoloni and Mesembria – the Scyrmidae and Nipsaeans, as they are called – gave themselves up to Darius without a struggle; but the Getae, obstinately defending themselves, were forthwith enslaved, notwithstanding that they are the noblest as well as the most just of all the Thracian tribes (4.93).

On the tribes, he reports as follows:

The Thracians are the most powerful people in the world, except, of course, the Indians: and if they had one head, or agreed among themselves, it is my belief that their match could not be found anywhere, and that they would very far surpass all other nations.



Fig. 1. Oppermann 1984, 74.

But such union is impossible for them, and there are no means of ever bringing it about. Herein therefore consists their weakness. The Thracians bear many names in the different regions of their country, but all of them have like usages in every respect, excepting only the Getae, the Trausi and those who dwell above the people of Creston (5.3).<sup>5</sup>

However, Thrace was not the only region where Thracian tribes lived, as they had also settled in the Anatolian regions of Mysia, Bithynia and Paphlagonia in the northeastern sector, south and east of the Sea of Marmara in present-day Turkey. Herodotos describes the Anatolian Thracians<sup>6</sup> as follows:

The Thracians went to the war wearing the skins of foxes upon their heads, and about their bodies tunics, over which was thrown a long cloak of many colours. Their legs and feet were clad in buskins made from the skins of fawns; and they had for arms javelins, with light targets, and short dirks. This people, after crossing into Asia, took the name Bithynians; before they had been called Strymonians, while they dwelt upon the Strymon; whence, according to their own account, they had been driven out

by the Mysians and Teucrians. The commander of these Asiatic Thracians was Bassaces the son of Artabanus (7.75).

Herodotus mentions the European Thracians only in passing, and, unfortunately, their dress and weaponry are not described.<sup>7</sup> However, we can assume that the equipment of the European Thracians must have looked like Asiatic equipment, since Xenophon describes it in the *Anabasis*, when the noses and ears of Greek soldiers fighting in the interior froze because of the icy cold:<sup>8</sup>

Then it became clear why the Thracians wear fox-skin caps on their heads and over their ears, and tunics not merely about their chests, but also round their thighs, and why, when on horseback, they wear long cloaks reaching to their feet instead of mantles (7.4.4).

Based on the number of finds and remains, the main emphasis of the following discussion will be on the European part of Thrace and so, in what follows, the survey is weighted in favour of this region.

In respect of the written sources and their historical classification, some issues are of significance. Whereas today it is the European region that is usually referred to as "ancient Thrace" and its inhabitants called "Thracians", in antiquity the Thracians living in Asia Minor were also included as inhabitants of the Thracian region. This results in extremely complex problems concerning the satrapy of Thrace. First comes the question of its actual name: which names in Old Persian texts conceal these regions? (See on "Skudra", below.) This is connected with the question as to whether there was even a name peculiar to this region or whether Thrace was only a part of a satrapy with another name. An attempt will also be made to clarify whether the European region where Thracians settled was a satrapy, part of a satrapy or only a region dependent on tribute. It should also be taken into account that there were displacements over time. These points must be researched and defined since only then will it be possible to make the best evaluation of the artefacts and finds.

However, there are uncertainties not only in respect of the names and classifications of the region and its inhabitants, but also about how far they spread. In spite of numerous excavations over the past 100 years, the structure and distribution of the individual tribes<sup>9</sup> in their respective regions remain uncertain, due to the lack of written sources and other data.<sup>10</sup> The same is also true of contact with Greek colonists. This means that it is uncertain which sites along the coast of the Black Sea were already Thracian settlements – and how large they were – at the beginning of the seventh century BC, when the Greeks built their trading centres on the coast of the Black Sea and subsequently began to settle there. It is generally accepted that in most cases this took place in agreement with the autochthonous peoples already living there. This must have been consolidated through diplomatic skill, but also by means of pay-

ment from the Greeks.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, it was the result of much intermarrying.<sup>12</sup> To reduce conflict in the rapprochement, it was often claimed that there were unwalled villages, but the archaeological finds in many towns have shown that they were fortified – at least in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.<sup>13</sup>

*The history of Thrace in respect of the Persians*

Little is known about Thrace in respect of the Persians. Under Dareios I, Thrace was conquered during his Scythian campaign, which began in the west in 513/512 BC, and was made part of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>14</sup> It is still uncertain how large the conquered Thracian region was.<sup>15</sup> Our source is chiefly Herodotos, who describes this campaign.<sup>16</sup> While Dareios I, coming from Bosphorus, was taking the land route over the Thracian region,<sup>17</sup> he sent the fleet over the Black Sea up to the Danube estuary, which was crossed with a temporary bridge. Instead of breaking it up behind him – presumably on the advice of Koës, the commander of the Mytilenaeans – he left it behind under guard. This meant that after their unsuccessful campaign – there was no decisive battle – they were able to withdraw.

In this context, Hekataios<sup>18</sup> gives a report on a city called Boryza, founded by the Persians, north of Byzantium in the area of the Thynen on the west coast of the Black Sea.

Through Herodotos we know of yet another Persian foundation: Doriskos in the plain of the Hebrus estuary, north of Samothrace:

The name Doriskos is given to a beach and a vast plain upon the coast of Thrace, through the middle of which flows the strong stream of the Hebrus. Here is a royal fort which is likewise called Doriskos, where Dareios had maintained a Persian garrison ever since the time when he attacked the Scythians (7.59).

Another city in Thrace is Myrkinos on the Strymon, which Histiaios had received from Dareios I for his loyalty in the Scythian campaign, as Herodotus reports:

King Dareios had no sooner crossed the Hellespont and reached Sardis, than he bethought himself of the good deed of Histiaios the Milesian [...]. Now Histiaios, as he was already king of Miletos, did not make request for any government besides, but asked Dareiso to give him Myrkinos of the Edonians, where he wished to build a new city (5.11).

However, later, when Megabazos was in Myrkinos, he advised Dareios I to prevent Histiaios – tyrant of Miletos and father-in-law of Aristagors – from building that town:

What mad thing is this that you have done, sire, to let a Greek, a wise man and a shrewd, get hold of a town in Thrace, a place too where there is abundance of timber fit of shipbuilding, and oars in plenty, and mines of silver, and about which are many dwellers both Greek and barbarian, ready enough to take him for their chief, and by day and night to do his bidding! Make this man cease his work, if you would not be entangled in a war with your own followers (5.23).

Thereupon, Dareios I allowed Histiaios to come to Sardis and took him with him to Susa. This story shows that at least the south Thracian coast was seen as "his own country", i.e. belonging to the Persian Empire. This excerpt also makes clear the sources of raw materials that Thrace could offer: wood and, especially, precious metals. From other sources we know of the silver mines in Dysoros<sup>19</sup> and the gold mines in Pangonion.<sup>20</sup>

The occupation of Thrace should not be underestimated, as it entailed – possibly besides preventative measures against growing interest on the part of the Scythians<sup>21</sup> – also sovereignty over the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and, therefore, control of trade between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps this region had already been in Persian hands, since it had been under the control of the Lydian king and, when conquered by Cyrus, had been added to the Achaemenid Empire. On the one hand, this sovereignty was important, in order to retain Thrace. But, on the other hand and in a wider perspective, it acquired a significant position overall, since already at this time Athens apparently was allocated an import of south Russian wheat.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps this was the reason why, in 499 BC, Athens decided to support the rebellion of the Ionian towns on the west coast of Asia Minor – in the hope of gaining free access to sea routes. The rebellion was sparked off in Miletos and then Sardis was sacked. However, the uprising affected not only the other Greek cities but also involved Karia and Lycia as well as Cyprus. Thrace was cut off from the Persian Empire. The Persians reacted with a strong military response. First Cyprus was recaptured and then the net was tightened round rebellious Miletos. In a decisive sea battle in 495 BC, at Lade, the Persians showed their superiority and strengthened their claim to be a world power. Miletos fell in 494 BC. Then Megabazos recaptured Thrace and advanced perhaps even further than Dareios I ever had:

The Persians left behind by King Darius in Europa, who had Megabazus for their general, reduced, before any other Hellespontine state, the people of Perinthus, who had no mind to become subjects of the king. [...] At this time the Perinthians, after a brave struggle for freedom, were overcome by numbers, and yielded to Megabazus and the Persians. After Perinthus had been brought under, Megabazus led his host through Thrace, subduing to the dominion of the king all the towns and all the

nations of those parts. For the king's command to him was, that he should conquer Thrace (5.1-2).

Whether the fortress Doriskos, mentioned above, always remained occupied is debatable, since Herodotus (5.98) tells us that the Paionen, who had been forcibly taken to Phrygia from Strymon by Megabazos, were encouraged by Aristagoras (died 497 BC) to go back home. Luckily, in their flight through Chios and Lesbos, they landed in Doriskos and from there reached Paionen. They had already been pursued in vain in Asia Minor by the Persians, who gave Chios the command to send the fugitives back, which was ignored. Therefore, it can be presumed that when the Persians had settled in Doriskos, they would have seized these fugitives.<sup>24</sup>

Two years later, in 492 BC, Mardonios, the son-in-law of Dareios I, was entrusted with the task of restoring control over the satrapy of Thrace on the far side of the Hellespont. In spite of losing a large part of the fleet due to a great storm, the "Thracian Bryger" were defeated (Hdt. 6.44-45, cf. also 7.9).<sup>25</sup>

In addition, Thasos, which feared for its gold mines on the mainland, was captured without a fight and so the north Aegean was again in the hands of the Persians. This is confirmed by Herodotus:

Persian governors had been established in Thrace and about the Hellespont before the march of Xerxes began [note: the campaign of Xerxes 481 BC] (7.106).

In the great campaign under Xerxes of 481 BC against Athens, which is described in detail in book 7 of Herodotus, the Persian army passes through the region ruled by them, over the Hellespont and along the coast of Thrace and Macedonia.

But the land army marched eastward along the Chersonese, leaving on the right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas, and on the left the city of Cardia. Having passed through the town which is called Agora, they skirted the shores of the Black Gulf, and thence crossed the Black River, whence the gulf takes its name, the waters of which they found too scanty to supply the host. From this point their march was to the west; and after passing Aenos, an Aeolian settlement, and likewise Lake Stentoris, they came to Doriskos (7.58).

In Doriskos there was a large food store for many people.<sup>26</sup> Here, Xerxes next stopped to hold a great troop inspection. Herodotus presents all the peoples who took part in the war, together with their equipment (7.61 pp.). He also describes the route that the army marched along, names cities and rivers as well as the tribes living there, all of whom had to join the army (7.108 pp.).

Only the Satren tribe escaped. Its men were described as courageous warriors, who lived in the region of mountain and forest.

It is evident how important Doriskos, mentioned above, now was as a base, since the governor of Doriskos is mentioned by name in Herodotos and his special loyalty to the king is emphasized (7.105-106). Apparently, Maskames succeeded in this, as one of the few Persian governors to hold the city entrusted to him after the first successful Greek battles at Thermophylae and at Cape Artemision as well as the destruction of Athens and the last Persian defeat suffered at the Battle of Salamis, whereas subsequently the other Thracian cities were lost.

After the two battles at Plataiai and Mykale in 479 BC, there seems to have been a Persian garrison at Doriskos. However, together with the city of Eion (Amphipolis), besieged by the Greeks for a long time, it was probably lost in 476/475 BC. Herodotos demonstrates this when he tells us how Eion, together with the Persian governor called Boges, was besieged by the Athenian Kimon. In his distress, first Boges killed his own family, then he emptied the city's accumulated treasure of precious metals into the Strymon and next committed suicide so that he would not have to suffer the ignominy of falling into the enemy's hands (Hdt. 7.107). Nevertheless, it seems that the Persians, together with the strategist Pausanias who they had installed in Byzantium (478/477 to 472/471 BC), had left themselves an escape route to Thrace.<sup>27</sup>

In 470/469 BC, the strategist Kimon, mentioned above, defeated the Persian fleet at the mouth of the Eurymedon river.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently, it seems that the royal house of the Odrysians in Thrace gained power and in about 465/464 BC emerged from the Persian shadow. The Odrysians became aware of the power vacuum resulting from the withdrawal of the Persians and claimed back supremacy over the region inhabited by several tribes. From this period onwards an indigenous ruling dynasty is comprehensible<sup>29</sup> (see below).

In the following period, the Mediterranean coast of Thrace probably came under the influence of the Athenian and Spartan spheres of power. Inland there was the Odrysian Kingdom, while on the shores of the Black Sea autonomous cities operated. Nevertheless it seems that, in addition, parts remained closely connected with the Persian Empire,<sup>30</sup> since in an episode narrated by Thouskydides, Spartan envoys, with the help of the Odrysian king Sitalkes, wished to reach the Persian satrap Pharnakes, across the Hellespont.<sup>31</sup> This means not only that there was an agreement between the Odrysians and the Persians, but also that the responsibility for the Hellespont lay in their sphere of influence. Shortly before 400 BC, the Spartan Klearchos conquered the Thracian tribes on the European shore of the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmara for Cyrus the Younger, before he marched against his brother, the mighty King Artaxerxes II, as Xenophon relates.<sup>32</sup> A little later, Thrace still appeared in lists of satrapies in the *Anabasis* (401 BC) by Xenophon. However, there the Odrysian ruler Seuthes I (424-407 BC) or Seuthes II (405-391 BC) is called an archon, not a satrap of European Thrace (Εύρωπη Θρακῶν).<sup>33</sup> In book 7 of the

*Anabasis*, there is an account of how, at the request of Pharnabazos, the satrap of Phrygia, who feared that the troops in his satrapy could be completely destroyed, the mercenary force led by Xenophon, with the help of the Spartan admiral Anaxibios, crossed over to Europe and helped the Thracian king Seuthes to recapture the land lost by his father. Of the later Odrysian Kotys I (383/382-359 BC) it was said that he loved luxury and owned a park with trees and watercourses in the country, which could be considered a paradise based on a Persian model.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps this could be understood as an indication that the Thracian lords had clearly looked towards the east. A close connection also attests that the term "Skudra" (see below), which some equate with Thrace, occurred in the lists of Artaxerxes III<sup>35</sup> (358-337 BC).<sup>36</sup> It is noteworthy that in 352 BC the mercenary leader Charidemus obtained a permit from the satrap for the Thracian Cheronesos.<sup>37</sup> Thus it appears that at least the Hellespont at this time belonged to the region where the Persians acted. According to Arrian, in 334 Alexander accused Dareios III, perhaps correctly, of having sent an army to Thrace.<sup>38</sup> It remains unclear whether the region was retained or recaptured. Later, it was logical that European Thrace – as an erstwhile Persian region – should become part of the empire of Alexander.<sup>39</sup>

### *The Odrysian Empire*<sup>40</sup>

Since the Empire of the Odrysians in European Thrace represented the largest territorial unit, as well a continuous power, and since, in addition, very many tribes relevant to this study come from this area, a brief description is given here. The ancient contemporary witnesses,<sup>41</sup> for example Herodotos<sup>42</sup>, Thoukydides<sup>43</sup> and Xenophon,<sup>44</sup> state that numerous tribes lived in European Thrace,<sup>45</sup> which were partly under the yoke of the Odrysians and partly remained free. They could attach themselves to various political entities, depending on the situation at any given time. Further elements are the partly-free and partly-dependent cities on the Mediterranean coast, which for periods were of interest to Athens and Sparta and could become the playthings of both Greek states. Thus the ancient sources reveal countless rapidly changing political constellations and alliances between the various potential partners. In addition, increasing power, safeguarding mineral resources and controlling ports and the Hellespont as well as the Bosphorus each had an important role to play in these relationships.

Most of the information about the Odrysians,<sup>46</sup> which is far too meagre to provide an extensive picture of this tribe and of its activities, was left to us by Thoukydides (460-399/396 BC) in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. In addition to the written sources, the numerous minted coins also provide indications of the rulers.<sup>47</sup> The assumption is that they were used, along with other items, to pay tribute to the Thracians.<sup>48</sup>

The first identifiable king of the Odrysians, who lived in the fertile Upper Thracian lowland plains of the Hebros and its southern course, is Teres. He

must have ruled up to approximately the middle of the fifth century BC. Thoukydides calls him the founder of the Kingdom. However, his power was still restricted, as some parts of the land were independent.<sup>49</sup> To keep on good terms with his neighbours, he was courting the Scythians, since Herodotus tells us of the diplomatic marriage of the daughter of Teres to the Scythian king Ariapeithes.<sup>50</sup> It is not known whether the Thracians, who in 465 BC took part in the attempt by the Athenians<sup>51</sup> to settle along the lower Strymon, belonged to tribes that in the meantime were united by the Odrysians.

Sparadokos, the son of Teres, whose reign is considered to be from 460-445 BC, is only known from Thoukydides and from minted coins.<sup>52</sup> Sitalkes (445-424 BC), the second son of Teres, is mentioned in several sources. Thus, in the history as narrated by Herodotus (4.78-80), there was an exchange between a brother of the Thracian king Sitalkes who had fled to the Scythians and a brother of the Scythian king Oktamasades who had fled to the Thracians. This happened – according to Herodotus – after the Scythian king had threatened to return the Thracian ruler's treacherous brother to him by force. This episode proves that Sitalkes considered it was important to secure the northern border of his kingdom, the Danube, by diplomacy<sup>53</sup> – perhaps in order to be able to act more extensively in the Mediterranean region. Only indirectly does this prove that from 444 BC a few Greek cities on the south-east coast of Thrace no longer occurred in the lists of the Attic sea alliance or only with small amounts of tribute and, probably already at this time, that tribute had to be paid to the Odrysian rulers.<sup>54</sup> The display of power seems to progress in the second half of the fifth century BC. Thus, at the start of the Peloponnesian War, in 431 BC, the Athenians tried to make an alliance with Thrace, as Thoukydides (2.29) reports.<sup>55</sup> Among other things, this meant that Sadokos, the son of Sitalkes, was awarded Athenian citizenship and that worship of the Thracian goddess Bendis<sup>56</sup> was established officially in Athens (Piraeus). Sitalkes fulfilled his obligations to the extent that, in 429 BC, he marched against the Macedonians – allies of Sparta and thus enemies of the Athenians. Although Sitalkes agreed to a settlement, this campaign demonstrated the military power of the Kingdom of the Thracian Odrysian. Thoukydides describes the Empire as follows:

The Odrysian empire had a coastline reaching from Abydus to the mouth of the Danube in the Euxine. The voyage along the coast, going by the shortest route and with a following wind all the way, takes a merchant ship four days and four nights; by land a man travelling fast and by the shortest route can get from Abydus to the Danube in eleven days. So much for the length of the coastline. As for its extent into the interior, a man travelling fast would take thirteen days to go from Byzantium to the Laeaeans and the Strymon, which is the part that lies farthest inland (2.97).

However, the Odrysians were not the only tribe who laid claim to power in Thrace, and Sitalkes fell during a military clash with the Triballern who lived in western Thrace.<sup>57</sup>

The successor of Sitalkes was not his son Sodokos, mentioned above, but Seuthes I (424-407 BC), who was his nephew and the son of Sparadokos.<sup>58</sup> The period of his reign was also shaped by the connections with Athens and Macedonia and, as a result, he was involved in the shifting power relationships between the coastal cities of the Mediterranean. As a result, the revenues of the Odrysian Empire increased. Thoukydides reports on its financial relationships:

In the reign of Seuthes, who succeeded Sitalces and raised the tribute to its highest, the total amount of tribute coming in from all the native districts and from the Hellenic cities was about 400 talents in gold and silver. Then at least an equal amount of gold and silver is contributed in presents, in addition to woven stuffs, both plain and embroidered, and other materials. These presents were not given only to the kings but also to the chief men and nobles of the Odrysians (2.97).

Subsequently, under Amadokos (Metokos/Medobas, 406-388 BC) and Seuthes II (405-391 BC) the Empire seems to have been divided.<sup>59</sup> In his *Anabasis*, Xenophon reports on Seuthes II, an adopted son of Amadokes. About himself, Seuthes II speaks as follows:

Maesades was my father, and his realm embraced the Melanditae, the Thynians and the Tranipsae. Now when the affairs of the Odrysians fell into a bad state, my father was driven out of this country, and thereafter sickened and died, while I, the son, was brought up as an orphan at the court of Medocus, the present king (7.2.32).

From this, we can conclude that Seuthes II did not belong to the Odrysian tribe. Even so, he attempted to obtain land and power. Thus he accepted help from Xenophon, who had set up his camp in Perinth on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara with Greek mercenaries, who had survived the arduous return journey after the battle in Mesopotamia. In this way, Seuthes II seems to have secured his own region on the southeast coast with important trading centres and wished to recapture the region of power lost by his father.

Whereas for the Odrysian kings of the fifth century and at the start of the fourth century BC there are good sources in Herodotus, Thoukydides and Xenophon, information about the later period is sparse and many details are unknown. This applies to the Odrysian Empire under Kotys I (383/382-359 BC), who came to power after the short reign of King Hebryzelmis (386/388-383/382

BC). Sources testify to actions of the ruler in the north Aegean. At the start of his rule there must have been good relationships between Athens and Kotys, who was awarded Athenian citizenship, but, in the following years, there were some changes. Kotys' expansionist politics in respect of the Thracian Chersones conflicted with Athenian interests and, after 365 BC, open warfare broke out. As a result, in 359 BC Kotys was killed by two men from Ainos, which is at the mouth of the Hebrus. They were students of Plato and perhaps lived in his courtyard.<sup>60</sup> For this deed, one of the two was rewarded with a golden crown in Athens.

After the death of Kotys I, the Empire was weakened and split into three parts: The region east of the Hebrus was administered by Kersobleptes, son of Kotys, who tried to act against the Athenians.<sup>61</sup> The second region included the hinterland of Maoneia and was ruled by Amadokos II. Over in the west, Berisades ruled the western region of Maoneia as well as the lower reaches of the Strymon. These three rulers and their sons were able to retain the land only until 356 BC, when the Macedonian king began to settle the first Macedonians in the west Thracian region. In 342/341 BC the Macedonian conquest of Thrace took place.

*The name "Skudra" in the satrapy lists and its meaning as "Thrace"*

"Thrace" is not mentioned in ancient Persian sources. Taken as a whole, the Achaemenid corpus of cuneiform texts is quite small.<sup>62</sup> The ancient Persian script was first used by Dareios I<sup>63</sup> and examples are limited to the long Behistun inscription and shorter texts. In some of these texts, countries which belonged to the Achaemenid Empire are listed. The sequence and number of countries varies,<sup>64</sup> but the starting-point is always the Persian motherland, followed by the Medes. After that, the lands in the east of the Empire are often named first followed by those in the west, but, even so, there is no fixed sequence.<sup>65</sup> As some inscriptions were produced by the Persians close in time to the annexation of the Thracian region, it must be accepted that the region of Thrace is to be found in these lists of countries. The name is uncertain, but it has been proposed that Thrace can be equated with "Skudra".<sup>66</sup>

In ancient Persian inscriptions there are at least 13 lists of countries,<sup>67</sup> which all vary in respect of the number of countries and their sequence. The term "Skudra" occurs in four inscriptions of Dareios I (521-486 BC), one of Xerxes I (485-465 BE) as well as in two inscriptions of Arataxerxes III (358-337 BC).<sup>68</sup>

As examples, the position of "Skudra" in two of the lists will be set out. In the Dareios inscription in Naqsh-i Rustam<sup>69</sup> the Skudra appear before Ionia (yauna), Scythians who are across the sea (sakā tyaiy paradraya) are followed by the *petasos*-wearing Ionians (yaunā takabarā) and the Libyans (putayā). In the Daiva-inscription of Xerxes,<sup>70</sup> the Skudra occur in the following sequence: Dahae<sup>71</sup> (dahā), Amyrgian Scythians (sakā haumavargā), pointed-cap Scythians (sakā tigraxaudā), Skudra (skudrā), men of Akaufaka (Ākaufaciyā), Liby-

ans (putāyā). On the whole, it is clear that the sequence does not appear to be important, and, in particular, that it does not reveal anything about the exact location of this satrapy, even though in most lists the Skudra feature near the Ionians.

There is another list of all the conquered peoples – written in hieroglyphs – on the plinth of the statue of Dareios from Susa.<sup>72</sup> It mentions the Skudra (S3-k3-t-rw-3) after Armenia (3-rw-m'-jj-n3), Sardis (S3-p-rw-t-3) and Kappadokia (G-p-d-d-k3-jj) and before Syria (3-š3-w3-rw) and Hagar (H-g-rw [Arabs in the northwest]).<sup>73</sup>

On some small tablets of accounts from Persepolis, from the period between the 13th and 26th years of King Dareios I, i.e. from 509 to 494 BC, there are Skudrians listed as workers, probably specialists, to whom rations were distributed.<sup>74</sup>

In order to support the thesis that Skudra denotes European Thracians, one has to fall back on representations.<sup>75</sup> In Naqsh-i Rustam are the tombs of the Achaemenid rulers. All the reliefs on the rock follow the same pattern and show the Great King on an oversized couch in front of an incense altar. In each case, the couch is carried by a representative of the conquered peoples. They are characterized by their different typical dress, although this is often shown very vaguely and sketchily. Only on the tomb of Dareios I<sup>76</sup> are there inscriptions, which are all in the usual languages: Old Persian, Elamite and Neo-Babylonian. The individual throne bearers are also named with labels. The figure who is named as "Skudra"<sup>77</sup> is portrayed in various ways on tombs<sup>78</sup> I–VI,<sup>79</sup> but he is always dressed in trousers with a knee-length coat, with coat-tails cut round and a hem that is perhaps trimmed with fur.<sup>80</sup> He wears short boots and on the later tombs the tips curl upwards. His weapons are always two spears tied together, worn on a belt over the shoulders. In three representations, an *akinakes* completes the weaponry. The greatest variation is in the headgear: whereas on three occasions there is a sort of cap with a bobble on top and earflaps (tombs I, V, VI), once there is clearly a *petasos* (tomb IV). The other portrayals are too eroded to provide a clear picture; lines or ribbons can be made out on the portrayal on tomb II, which could indicate a *petasos*. Conspicuous is a case of clearly curly hair (tomb III), a haircut that is also sported by the figure wearing the *petasos*. The representation on the relief, that is occasionally quoted, of the people bringing tribute to Persepolis, should not be taken into consideration, since these representations are not identified by small inscriptions.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, in Greek vase painting, specific representations are connected with the Thracians, but it is hard to differentiate clearly between Scythians, Thracians and Persians.<sup>82</sup> All the figures are distinctive, since they wear a type of trousers unknown to the Greeks. These Greek representations of Thracians have been compared with those on the façade of the tomb of Dareios I and similarities have been recognized: the figures identified as Thracians on the vases occasionally also carry two spears.<sup>83</sup> However, this should not be taken as indicative, since, for

practical reasons, soldiers of other peoples,<sup>84</sup> such as the Scythians and Greeks, also carried two spears,<sup>85</sup> as depictions<sup>86</sup> and finds in tombs demonstrate.

In my view, on the whole the depictions should be interpreted as follows: the detail of a *petasos*<sup>87</sup> on tombs I, II(?), V, VI indicates a people who had contact with the Greeks and so knew this type of travelling hat. The other style of headgear, caps with a bobble on top and earflaps shown on tombs I, V, VI, fits well with the “fox pelts” described by Herodotus as being worn by the Thracians (7.75).<sup>88</sup> Therefore, it is certainly possible that “Skudra” does indeed refer to the Thracians, although this is by no means certain. Nevertheless, even in recent secondary literature, “Skudra” is identified with “Thrace” without comment, for example, by Briant<sup>89</sup> and Klinkott.<sup>90</sup>

However, in 1996/1997, the Iranian scholar Gropp<sup>91</sup> queried this attribution. He referred to Szemerényi,<sup>92</sup> who considered the Skudra to be an Iranian people because of their name. Stimulated by this observation, and on the basis of the sequence or omission of names in the Old Persian lists of countries, mentioned above, he proposed that the Skudra had settled in Paphlagonia (Pontos) on the south coast of the Black Sea. They had then migrated in about 700 BC as a Cimmerian – and so as a Scythian – tribe to the region round Sinop. Since this region – because it is so difficult to access – was first conquered not by Cyrus but by Dareios, the Skudra appear in the lists only from Dareios I onwards.<sup>93</sup> Three arguments can be made against this proposal: first, as has already been explained, the sequences of countries in the lists is often difficult to interpret and not transparent, and so they are unsuitable as proof of the proposal. Second, the representations of the *petasos*, mentioned above, should be considered, since this is, most probably, proof for inhabitants who lived in close contact with Greece. Third, it would be surprising if the inaccessible Paphlagonian region should have produced numerous specialists who, according to the small tablet from Persepolis, were brought to the court of Dareios I. Although Gropp’s formulation is a worthwhile attempt to shed some light on this matter and reminds us that there is no certain attribution, in my opinion his proposal is not wholly convincing.

### *Thrace as a satrapy?*

Even if we accept that Skudra denotes the Thracians in the lists of the period, the discussion remains open as to whether they were European or Asiatic Thracians. This is connected with the question as to whether European Thrace should really be considered as an independent satrapy. On this, there is already an extensive discussion,<sup>94</sup> which can only be sketched in outline here.

Thus Hammond and Castritius are in favour of seeing European Thrace as an independent satrapy. The decisive factor in reaching this conclusion is the use of names in Old Persian texts.<sup>95</sup> In the building inscription of Dareios I from Persepolis,<sup>96</sup> “countries beyond the sea” are mentioned, which then, in the tomb inscription of Dareios I at Naqsh-i Rustam (DNA, cf. n. 68), are ac-

cepted as "Saka beyond the sea". Also in this text, the Skudra and the Yauna are called *takabara* (shield-bearing Ionians,<sup>97</sup> i.e. Ionians with a hat shaped like a shield, the *petasos*). In another Dareios inscription from Susa (DSe, cf. n. 68), there is no longer reference to anyone wearing the *petasos*, and the "Saka beyond the sea" seem to have been replaced by the "Ionians beyond the sea".<sup>98</sup> The specification "beyond the sea" is understood to denote inhabitants from beyond the Sea of Marmara, i.e. European groups. As additional evidence, Castritius cites the royal road in Thrace mentioned by Herodotos,<sup>99</sup> and from that deduces that a ruler's residence existed there and so it was an independent satrapy.<sup>100</sup> He would like to set this circumstance only a few years after the Scythian campaign of Dareios I (513/512 BC). He speaks about a satrapy only after 492 BC.<sup>101</sup> Such a conclusion sits well with the fact that Dareios I received tribute "from the inhabitants of Europe" only at the end of his reign, as Herodotos tells us (3.96).

On the one hand, this argument seems convincing. On the other hand, however, it should be noted that, first, the exact assignment of the names to the respective tribes remains unclear (see above on "Skudra")<sup>102</sup> and, second, the names in the Old Persian texts may not necessarily be the names of satrapies, but could, rather, denote peoples.<sup>103</sup> In addition, the royal road mentioned by Castritius does not go through the hinterland, but runs along the south coast, and is no proof of an independent satrapy. It simply proves that this region was under Persian rule.

Nevertheless, Pajakowski<sup>104</sup> also assumes a Thracian satrapy and would like to see the capital of that satrapy in Sestos. He derives this notion from Herodotos 9.116, where Artayktes is called *hyparchos* of Sestos. The term *hyparchos* is usually translated as "vice-regent", but occasionally can also be read as "satrap".<sup>105</sup> Against the translation of *hyparchos* = "satrap" in this case, Balcer notes that at this time there were three *hyparchoi* in Thrace: alongside Artayktes in Sestos, Maskames in Dorisikos and Boges in Eion are mentioned.<sup>106</sup> The existence of these three officials at the same time shows that the title of *hyparchos* denotes a person of lower rank than that of satrap.

In most recent literature, opinion is against the notion that Thrace was an independent satrapy. However, there is no unanimity as to which other satrapy the region of European Thrace belonged. It is more generally accepted that Thrace was part of the satrapy of Asia Minor. The areas of dominance of the satrapies of Asia Minor and their capitals are, however, also debated.<sup>107</sup> The reason for this is that the Greek terms are not always unequivocal: the terms "satrap", "strategist" and "hyparch" are used in various ways.<sup>108</sup> This is why Briant, for example, considers it difficult to determine in which town the person responsible for European Thrace resided. He suggests that Artayktes, who held power in 480 BC in Sestos and the surrounding countryside (see Hdt. 9.116 and above), received his orders either from Daskyleion or from Sardis, if not directly from the king.<sup>109</sup>

Jacobs also considers the seat of government responsible for Thrace to be

in Anatolia and, in reaching this conclusion, refers to two documents in which Dareios I names the outer borders of the Kingdom in every direction. On the foundation documents from the Apadana in Persepolis (DPh) as well as on the almost identical text on tablets from Hamadan (DH), Sardis (spardā)<sup>110</sup> is mentioned as the furthest point in the (north)west. Since the construction of Persepolis, and, therefore, of the Apadana, was probably started after the Scythian campaign, i.e. during the constitution phase of Dareios I,<sup>111</sup> and since Thrace was by this time already part of the Persian Empire, it had to be mentioned in the texts. Thus European Thrace should be mentioned as the region furthest to the northeast. The mention of the satrapal seat of Sardis in the texts, however, can mean only that Thrace was under the sovereignty of Sardis. Jacobs considers Thrace to have been part of the principal satrapy of Lydia/Sparda for about 30 years.<sup>112</sup>

Recently, Klinkott<sup>113</sup> has also commented on the notion of Thrace as a satrapy. He supports his thesis that Thrace was not an independent satrapy by noting that neither a capital nor a satrapy palace is known and also that, up to now, no remains of *paradeisoi* have been found. Against this argument, however, is the fact that, as yet, no such evidence is forthcoming from other satrapies, even though it is certain that they were indeed satrapies.<sup>114</sup>

Klinkott also concludes that the satrap of Phyrgia of the Hellespont, with his headquarters in Daskyleion, was responsible for the Thracian region and refers to Diodoros for supporting evidence.<sup>115</sup> This author states that the Persian king (Artaxerxes III) appointed his satraps (*σατράπας*) on the coast (the satrap Arsites of Hellespontic Phrygia)<sup>116</sup> to defend the city of Perinth on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara against capture by Philip II.<sup>117</sup> Klinkott considers a satrapy comprising European Thrace and Hellespontic Phrygia with a capital in Daskyleion to be a plausible proposition, as this would have united the strategically important straits within a single administrative region.<sup>118</sup> A single satrapy would strengthen the cohesion of the regions otherwise separated by the straits.

Against this, however, it can be stated that, particularly in antiquity, geographical features were considered to be markers of frontiers.<sup>119</sup> In addition, the eastern section of Asia Minor, up to the Sea of Marmara, was already in Lydian hands from the time when Cyrus besieged Croesus and incorporated Lydia into his empire. It does not seem implausible to consider the new conquests of Macedonia and Thrace by Dareios I to be independent administrative regions – with their own autochthonous tribes – on the other side of the sea. At a later period, in Roman times, Thrace was an independent province.

Late Babylonian lists of divisions provide apparent evidence of Thrace as a satrapy, since there is mention of the Diadochen Lysimachos<sup>120</sup> installed by Alexander as the satrap for Thrace and its Pontic neighbours, while Leonnatos governed Hellespontic Phrygia. This division, however, is then revoked in the registers of the conference of Triparadeios (321 BC).<sup>121</sup>

Even later, under Alexander, a *strategos* was appointed in Thrace, but he

revolted.<sup>122</sup> Alexander took over the Persian Empire with its satrapies. Since Thrace now belonged to his empire, the region apparently did not completely escape from the influence of the east, with which it seems to have remained connected.

### *Summary*

Generally speaking, Thrace is a difficult region to understand. In the 200 years dealt with here it was divided into a variety of power blocs and was subject to the interests of many foreigners. Not only the Persians, but also the Athenians and Spartans wished to have access to this region which was inhabited by numerous tribes who dominated to varying degrees. The interest of outsiders was largely prompted by the lucrative and strategically important cities along the region's coast. However, even if one considers Thrace as a single unit, much of the situation remains unclear due to the lack of sources. It has even proved difficult to define the term used to denote Thrace. In fact, it cannot be said with certainty that the term "Skudra" in Old Persian inscriptions refers to European Thrace, even though this is fairly likely to be the case. The problem of determining what the term "Thracian" means in Greek sources remains unsolved. Sometimes it seems the European Thracians are meant and sometimes the Asiatic Thracians. Alternatively, the label could even be used for both groups together. In respect of the present study, this lack of consistency affects the value of the information provided by the ancient written sources. A further question concerns the size of the region called "Skudra" and "Thrace", and it must be concluded that it is not possible to state the size of the region dominated by the Persians. It can be proposed, however, that it probably comprised the coastal region and not the hinterland, which is often accessible with difficulty. The length of time that European Thrace belonged to the Persian Empire is equally difficult to establish precisely. To judge from the Greek sources, it was conquered by Dareios I during his Scythian campaign in about 513/512 BC and was lost in about 465 BC. Nevertheless, the term "Skudra" occurs in the lists of Artaxerxes II and III, and "Thrace" occurs in Babylonian lists in Diodoros. Even if we do not know exactly which regions come under "Skudra" in the later lists, these facts should not be ignored in future discussions, since a specific orientation towards the east appears to have been important to the indigenous rulers. To what extent, through taxes or "gifts", it was bound to the Persian royal house cannot be grasped – but, at first glance, items such as the Oersian bowls and rhyta, as well as their local imitations found in Thrace, indicate a strong affinity with the east.

Perhaps it should be stressed that between 512 and 465 BC direct exchange between the Thracian coastal regions and the Persian Empire was at its height, and that an ongoing connection remained. Certainly, the rulers of the Odrysian Empire, originally based in the heartland, who in the following period dominated the Thracian region, to some extent modelled themselves

on those of the east. Although their material legacy could certainly have been stimulated by the Persians, they retained their own production and forms,<sup>123</sup> allowing the conclusion that after the middle of the fifth century BC Thrace was no longer a satrapy of the Persian Empire.

## Notes

- 1 I would like to express my gratitude to Wilfred G.E. Watson for translation of the text.
- 2 Several studies – especially from the aspect of ancient history – deal with the Persian campaign, as well as with the relationships between the Persians and Thrace and Macedonia. There are historical surveys in various monographs on the Thracians.
- 3 Cf. the map in Bonn 2004, 312. Danov 1976, 135pp. assumes two overland routes “seit uralten Zeiten”.
- 4 Here, it is not possible to discuss the truth of the respective reports in Herodotus, see Högemann 1992, 47pp. Inevitably, in a history of the Persians we have to refer to this source, for example cf. Briant 1996; Briant 2002. Translation: Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, translated by George Rawlinson (1947) New York.
- 5 In book 5.4-10 there follows a description of various customs, for example rites at birth and death, beliefs, as well as a commentary on the peoples on the other side of the Danube.
- 6 In lists of tribute in Herodotus (3.90) they are always itemised as “Thracians, those in Asia”.
- 7 Hdt. 7.185: *To the amount thus reached we have still to add the forces gathered in Europe, concerning which I can only speak from conjecture. The Greeks dwelling in Thrace, and in the islands off the coast of Thrace, furnished to the fleet 120 ships; the crews of which would amount to 24,000 men. Besides these, footmen were furnished by the Thracians, the Paeonians, the Eordians, the Bottiaeans, by the Chalcidean tribes, by the Brygians, by the Pierians, the Macedonians, the Perrhaebians, the Enianians, the Dolopians, the Magnesians, the Achaeans, and by all the dwellers upon the Thracian sea-board; and the forces of these nations amounted, I believe, to 300,000 men.* Cf. also – being aware of the year of publication – the collection of customs and usages from Greek and Latin sources in Tomaschek 1893, 111-129.
- 8 Translation: Xenophon, *Anabasis*, translated by Carleton L. Brownson (1961<sup>4</sup>) Cambridge, Mass.
- 9 Most recently, Archibald 1998, 108, fig. 4.2.
- 10 As a priority, graves laden with treasure were dug up and less attention was paid to the architecture of the settlement, cf. Popov 2007, 36.
- 11 Thukydides (2.97) mentions 400 talents of gold and silver as tribute in the time of the Odrysian king Seuthes I (ca. 424-405 BC).
- 12 Oppermann (2007, 13) considers it to be common practice for colonists to marry foreigners, in this case, Thracian women, as the Greek settlers were exclusively men. I do not agree.
- 13 Cf., for example, Oppermann 2007, 25 (Orgame), 26 (Kallatis), 30 (Odessos), 31 (Mesambria), 32 (Appolonia).
- 14 See Castritius 1972.
- 15 See the section below discussing whether Thrace was a satrapy. The ancient sources provide exact references only for the coastal regions.

16 Hdt. 4.89 pp.

17 How far inland he came remains uncertain. Herodotus mentions the source of the Tearos, a river with healing powers where Dareios camped and had a column erected. Then it was two days' journey from Perinth – on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara – and from Apollonia. As the crow flies, the distance between the two towns is about 150km. According to Herodotus, the legendary Tearos river flows into the Kontodeskos, which in turn flows into the famous Agriane, which runs from east to west and flows into the Hebros. The remains of the column inscribed by Dareios must still have existed in 1830. The place is about 30-40km from the coast of the Black Sea; cf. Hammond 1988, 239, 244.

18 *Fragmenta der griechischen Historiker I*, Hekataios Fragment No. 166.

19 Hdt. 5.17.

20 Hdt. 7.112.

21 Dandamaev 1989, 148, 150. The later expedition of the Scythians as far as Asia Minor, as narrated by Herodotus (5.40), would confirm the fear that the Scythians had the potential to penetrate further into the partially fruitful Thrace. Cf. the frontier conflicts, which, according to Herodotus (4.80), indicate interest beyond the Scythians.

22 Briant 2002, 145: "...Darius's undertaking in Thrace ... was an essential phase of his new conquests ..."

23 Bengtson 1965, 44. On control of the Bosphorus, see also Klinkott 2006, 302, n. 94.

24 On this, see Castritius 1972, 10. He considers it more likely that the Persian garrison did not have enough men and had no connections with other troops.

25 Zahrnt (1992, 239) does not consider this campaign to have been a failure.

26 Hdt. 7.25: *The greater portion was carried to the White Headland, upon the Thracian coast; some part, however, was conveyed to Tyrodiza, in the country of the Perinthians, some to Doriskos, some to Eion upon the Strymon, and some to Macedonia*. Danov (1976, 274) locates the cape as not far from Selymbria.

27 Briant 2002, 561.

28 Briant 2002, 557-558.

29 Cf. also the ruling dynasties of the Pharnacides in Phrygia, the Hekatomnides in Karia and the Anaphas in Kappadokia who continually served the Achaemenids: Klinkott 2006, 47.

30 Differently, Jacobs (1994, 124), who proposes that Thrace became a province of the Persian Empire only 30 years after the Scythian campaign led by Dareios. Similarly, see Oppermann 2007, 22, for example.

31 Thuc. 2.67.

32 Xen. *An.* 2.6.

33 Klinkott 2005, 477 and Xen. *An.* 7.8.25. Seibert (1985) does not list Thrace as a satrapy, either (see maps 16-17).

34 Ath. 12.531.e-f.

35 A<sup>3</sup>Pa = Kent 1953, 156; Schmitt 2000, 114pp.; A?P/A<sup>3</sup>Pb = Kent 1953, 155-156; Schmitt 2000, 119pp.

36 Instead, Balcer (1988, 7) denies this primary source: "... and decades later during the reign of either Artaxerxes II or III, other scribes at Persepolis still listed Skudrians among the imperial subjects, although the Achaemenid Empire lost its Thracian territories. Those Skudrians, however, may have long been in residence in the Asian territories of the Empire and still retained their ethnic identity, even though they are strangely absent among the Persepolis Treasury Tablets".

37 Briant 2002, 657; Demosthenes contra Aristocrates 154-159.

38 Arr. *Anab. of Alexander II* 14.4-5.

39 Seibert 1985, 184, separation of the region in 326 BC.

40 See the general representations: for example, Oppermann 1984; Bonn 2004; and especially the comprehensive monographs by Danov 1976; Archibald 1998.

41 For a survey, see Danov 1976, 21-52.

42 See n. 4.

43 Translation: Thukydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Rex Werner (1972<sup>2</sup>) London.

44 See n. 8.

45 See map in Archibald 1998, 108, fig. 4.2.

46 See stemma of the royal house: Archibald 1998, 104.

47 Youroukava 1976.

48 The numerous vessels made of precious metals were considered to be tribute, cf. Archibald 1998, 260.

49 Thuc. 2.29.

50 Hdt. 4.80.

51 Thuc. 1.100, 4.102.

52 Thuc. 4.101; Youroukava 1976, 8 pp. Danov (1976, 292) does not consider Sparadokos to be an Odrysian king, since otherwise Thukydides would have mentioned him. He only says that Seuthes was the son of Sparadokos. In addition, he suggests that Olynth, generally considered to be where the coins of Sparadokos were minted, at that time did not come under the influence of the Odrysian rulers. Archibald (1998, 106-107) is in favour of Sparadokos being a ruler of a kingdom in southwest Thrace.

53 Cf. also Archibald 1998, 105.

54 Cf. the survey in Danov 1976, 294.

55 On the treaty and its fulfilment, cf. Danov 1976, 307-317.

56 Introduced in Athens in about 430 BC; cf. *Der Kleine Pauly* 1, 860-861; Bäbler 1998, 190-191. Cf. also Archibald 1998, 97, n. 16 for a discussion of this fact.

57 Thuc. 4.101.

58 Thuc. 4.101.

59 Both rulers are mentioned in Xen. *An.* 7.3.16.

60 For an evaluation of it as a political act, cf. Danov 1976, 341, n. 31; Archibald 1998, 221, n. 36.

61 Cf. Demosthenes against Aristocrates.

62 Kent 1953; Schmitt 1991; Lecoq 1997; Schmitt 2000.

63 Hinz 1973, 15 pp.

64 See Jacobs 1994, 109-110, who refers to new divisions and not to an increase of provinces.

65 Calmeyer 1976, 111 pp.

66 Originally, the equivalence was based on the similarity to the place-name of Skudra in Eordaia, Thessaly, and seems to go back to F. Justi, cf. Gropp 2001, 38. For debatable etymologies, see Detschew 1957, 462; Herzfeld 1968, 348. In addition, reference is made to Junge 1942, 17, n. 6. However, no convincing explanation is given there: "Daß unter Skudra die Thraker verstanden werden müssen, zeigt die Darstellung der betr. Figur auf dem Relief; die Erklärung des Namens bereitet einige Schwierigkeiten, ohne daß jedoch dadurch der Bezug zu Thrace in Frage gestellt würde..." See also Hinz 1973, 151; Roaf 1974, 130-132. See also a collection

of possible meanings in Hachmann & Penner 1999, 265; most recently, Jordanov 2004, 114.

67 For a complete catalogue of the lists of countries see Klinkott 2005, 71-73. See also Hachmann & Penner 1999, 270 pp.

68 In the Dareios inscription from Naqsh-i Rustam (DNA = Kent 1953, 137-138; Schmitt 2000, 25 pp.), in two Dareios inscriptions from Susa (DSe = Kent 1953, 141-142.; DSm = Kent 1953, 145), in a Xerxes inscription from Persepolis (XPh = Kent 1953, 150 pp.; Schmitt 2000, 88 pp.) and two inscriptions of Artaxerxes III from Persepolis (A<sup>3</sup>Pa = Kent 1953, 156; Schmitt 2000, 114 pp.; A<sup>3</sup>Pb = Kent 1953, 155-156. Kent still labels the inscription as "A?P", as he is unable to decide definitely whether it comes from the time of Artaxerxes II or of Artaxerxes III. Instead, Schmitt (2000, 119 pp.), on the basis of epigraphical and philological arguments, attributes it to Artaxerxes III). Schmitt 2000 translates "Skudra" basically as "Thracians".

69 Kent 1953, 137-138, lines 28-29.

70 Kent 1953, 150-151, lines 26-27.

71 Otherwise unattested. A group in the Iranian hill country? See Hachmann & Penner 1999, 271, n. 77.

72 *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique Française en Iran* 4, 61-183.

73 Kaplony-Heckel 1985, 612.

74 Hallock 1978, 122 (PFa 18); Hallock 1969, 705-706, see the text references for *Iskudra/Iskudrap*. Hallock translates "Skudra". For further unpublished references, see Balcer 1988, 7, n. 23.

75 Cf. Junge 1941, 17, n. 6.

76 Schmidt 1970, pls. 18-39.

77 Schmidt 1970, 109.

78 Schmidt 1970, fig. 44 with comment.

79 Only tomb I can unequivocally be said to belong to Dareios. The other attributions are based on stylistic research. Tomb I: Dareios I; tomb II: Xerxes; tomb III: Artaxerxes I; tomb IV: Dareios II; tomb V: Artaxerxes II; tomb VI: Artaxerxes III.

80 Schmidt 1970, fig. 44, comments: "fur-trimmed edges".

81 XIX Delegation with stocking-length cloaks, caps with bobbles and earflaps tied under the chin, half-length boots, sometimes armed with a round shield apparently made of reed and two spears each. Walser calls them "Skudra-Thraker" (Walser 1966, 95-96, pl. 26). Cf. also the most recent collection of meanings in Hachmann & Penner 1999, 265. See also the explanation of a fragment of relief from palace H in Persepolis, with figures understood to be Thracians in Tilia 1972, 285, fig. 8, pl. CXCI. Jacobs 2002, 376-377. The patterned cloak indicates the coloured Persian cloak, which occurs on Greek vase painting, although the trousers are missing.

82 Raeck 1981.

83 Cf. two almost identical vases by the Eretria painter depicting Thracians (Oppermann 2004, 111, pls. 17.1, 31.2; Oppermann 2007, 35, fig. 27). Raeck does not consider carrying two spears or lances as weapons to be characteristic of Thracians, even though occasionally some have (Raeck 1981, 70, 74, 75).

84 Cf. also the relief showing carriers of tribute with "Gandharern" (Walser 1966, pl. 21).

85 Basically, Greek weaponry comprises two spears, cf. Snodgrass 1967, 57-58. Only in the late fifth century BC would a single spear be the typical weapon of a hoplite (Snodgrass 1967, 97).

86 Raeck 1981, 74; Snodgrass 1967, fig. 37.

87 "Thessalischer Hut" after its origin, cf. "Petasos" in *Der Neue Pauly* 9, 660.

88 This description could also apply to other peoples shown wearing trousers, since this style of dress almost always includes a cap made of soft leather (Walser 1966). Also Greek vase painting shows a cap with earflaps made of soft material; see n. 83.

89 Briant 2002, 176.

90 For example, in his Persian lists of satrapies, cf. Klinkott 2006, 71 pp.

91 Groppe 2001.

92 Szemerényi 1980, 23-25.

93 Only a few of Groppe's main arguments will be given here. For his extensive argumentation, see Groppe 2001.

94 Compare the surveys in Zahrnt 1992, 269-273; Briant 2002, 905.

95 Hammond 1988, 494; Castritius 1972, 5-6.

96 Kent 1953, 136-137. (DPh).

97 Cf. Kent 1953, 185: "takabara – adj. 'wearing the petasos' (...) as proved by Akk. 'who bear shields on their heads' ...".

98 Differently, Balcer (1988, 7), who understands the term to mean the Skudra.

99 Hdt. 7.115: *The road which the army of Xerxes took remains to this day untouched: the Thracians neither plough nor snow it, but hold it in great honour.* Royal roads were well documented in the Persian Empire. They were kept in good condition. They were wide and broad with regular service stations and were, therefore, suitable for armies. Seibert 1985, 16 pp.; see also Briant 2002, 357 pp. Cf., for the system of roads, Archibald 1998, 112.

100 Castritius 1972, 11.

101 Castritius 1972, 6-7.

102 Cf. also Briant 2002, 905.

103 Cf. Cameron 1973, 47-56.

104 Pajakowski 1983.

105 See the list for this term which is used 23 times in Herodotus (Balcer 1988, 2 pp.

106 Balcer 1988, 6, 15.

107 For comparisons for the divisions of satrapies in general into various categories, see Jacobs 1994; cf. comments by Klinkott (2005, 61-65), who does not accept this.

108 *Strategoi* were under the satraps and probably one of their duties was to collect taxes, cf. Jacobs 1994, 121.

109 Briant 2002, 146.

110 Kent 1953, 136 (DPh), 147 (DH).

111 Cf. Jacobs 1994, 128, n. 128 with references to the date when the building of the Apadana began and related discussions.

112 Jacobs 1994, 124 pp.

113 Klinkott 2005, 477.

114 Only a few such capitals of satrapies are known, such as Babylon, Daskyleion, Sardis, and probably Memphis and Sidon. Besides references in texts, relevant remains and finds – such as the glazed brick from Babylon (Koldewey 1969, 123, fig. 7, pl. 39; Speyer 2006, 118) and the capital from Sidon (Nunn 2000, 237; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 41) – are rare. Thus, hardly any capitals of the satrapies lying east of Iran are known. If one considers how many paradises are mentioned in Babylonian inscriptions (cf. Tuplin 1996, 80-131, 178-182), none of which has so far been discovered, this argument centred on non-existent finds and remains should not be viewed as too significant.

115 Diod. 16.75.

116 Paus. 1.29.10.

117 Klinkott 2006, 477.

118 Here he follows Groppe (2001, 40), who points out that the same issue remained significant in 14th century Ottoman Empire. At that time, the Balkans were ruled from Bursa.

119 On this cf. Jacobs 1994, 115-116.

120 List in Diod. 18.3.1-2.

121 Klinkott 2006, 76, 477.

122 Cf. Diod. 17.62.5-6.

123 Also in the fifth century BC the physical distance must have been significant. Archibald (1998, 110, fig. 4.3) shows that the so-called “elite tumulus burials” in the hinterland lie west of the Hebrus. Only in the fourth century BC do foreign wares seem to have provoked interest, as the finds of Greek pottery in Thrace suggest (Archibald 1998, 217, fig. 9.4). Certainly, the fully developed road system was significant in this respect.

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# The Classification of Objects from the Black Sea Region Made or Influenced by the Achaemenids<sup>1</sup>

*Ellen Rehm*

Frequently, objects from the Achaemenid period are described as “Achaemenid” without a precise definition of the term being given. Often the term is used in a generalized way for objects produced within the Achaemenid Empire or during that period. Rarely have the artefacts been classified into various groups so as to make clear the degree of proximity to or dependence on the great Persian Empire and its centre.<sup>2</sup> This may be due to a reluctance to ascribe the Achaemenids with their own “art” and reference is always made to the eclecticism of objects produced under the Achaemenids.<sup>3</sup> If more specific ascriptions result, then usually they refer only to a particular object or group of objects. One reason for the wide use of the term “Achaemenid” is that the material legacy of the Achaemenid Empire is marginal to many disciplines. Ancient history is concerned mostly with historical and political developments. Classical archaeologists and ancient Near Eastern archaeologists do occasionally include the legacy, but most only consider and label it from their own perspective.

In 2002, Jacobs noted this phenomenon and hoped to redress the balance by classifying the reliefs.<sup>4</sup> What mattered to him most was to discuss the themes depicted and their origin and imitation – especially in Asia Minor – but he also discussed the layout of the monuments. Besides the contents of representations and the shapes of artefacts, my own research focuses on style from the aspect of the history of art. Accordingly, here I will attempt to draft various categories for small artwork and metalwork by marking off boundaries. The guidelines for the classification of these categories – proposed for the Black Sea region but equally valid for other regions of the Persian Empire – will be presented by means of examples. This attempt starts with a gradation of variation analogous to the distance from centre to periphery. The hope is to be able to apply this three-stage model to all the satrapies and neighbouring regions, whilst being well aware that this implies a generalization. In my opinion, the opposite approach, working from local characteristics of the time and relating them to the centre, has so far not led to any convincing differentiation. The density of influences is too diverse and the degree of adaptation too varied. Comparisons of various regions to determine the types of dependence in the

Achaemenid Empire cannot be carried out in this way. Therefore, here, as a trial run, a three-stage model of influence will be proposed. Finer differentiation would complicate the classification of the obviously heterogeneous material.<sup>5</sup>

These categories – the original as well as the grades of distance from the original – will be given “catchy names”, which will be easy to understand and allow quick reference.<sup>6</sup> The proposed names are “court-style art”, “satrapal art” and “Perso-barbarian art”,<sup>7</sup> and definitions of these categories follow.

Even if at first glance these names – especially that of Perso-barbarian art – seem provocative, they should be adduced on a trial basis. Court-style art refers to finds from the residences and palaces in Persia, built by the ruling Persians, and going back to the patriarch Achaemenes. The term Satrapal art is intended to clarify the trends in style produced in the courts of satrapies following the original, but allows various independent elements. The expression Perso-barbarian art denotes objects which are clearly steeped in the indigenous ideas of “barbarians”, in our case, in the regions bordering the Black Sea, fashioned in a way that is only reminiscent of the original. The term “style” is consciously avoided in favour of the all-inclusive term “art”. Thus, alongside considerations of art-historical style, characteristics such as appearance and form can also be included. The examples in the following paragraphs show that the boundaries between these three classes are not always clearly drawn and, inevitably, there is some overlap. This system follows modern ideas and is based on the material so far known. However, the general classification of an object that cannot be precisely classified, for example as a product of court-style art/satrapal art, is still significant, as it clearly shows a trend which can be helpful in a later evaluation of all the material. Thus, some artefacts are identified as overlapping between categories. A further limitation should be mentioned. The categories given above principally concern valuable objects, which is inevitable in respect of court-style art, but not for the other two categories. Simpler local variants, for example made from less precious materials, cannot always be precisely classified or else presuppose a system with subdivisions, which cannot be pursued here as it would lead to too fine a classification of the assorted material into a large number of subgroups. Therefore, here – in spite of some unavoidable reductions – I adopt a three-fold division, since it provides a suitable system in respect of the various stages of acculturation – in our case, in the Black Sea region. On the other hand, they should also be considered as chronological signposts. For western Thrace, above all, it will be accepted that objects which are purely Achaemenid come from the first decades of cultural contacts. In later periods, with the strengthening of the Odrysian Empire, there was little demand for original Achaemenid objects, especially containers with distinctive Achaemenid representations. In this connection, one can find one’s bearings from Aegean and Oriental ideals: the themes displayed follow Greek models whilst the external shapes follow Achaemenid models.

On the one hand, the classification presented here also affects the question of craftsmen; where they originated from and the nature of their training. Above all, this topic will be treated in respect of the postulated presence of eastern craftsmen in Greece and of Greek craftsmen in Scythia. However, an exposition of this often controversial discussion would not only go beyond the framework of this research but would also change the emphasis, and so, in what follows, it will only be touched upon in isolated cases.<sup>8</sup> It should also be noted that both written<sup>9</sup> and non-written sources are very rare. Here it should be noted that there were definitely workshops in the satrapies in which indigenous craftsmen prepared objects in court-style art.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the connotation of these objects in the peripheral areas must be discussed. The artefacts in court-style art were certainly seen as presents from the Persian king to indigenous leaders.<sup>11</sup> In any case, the find circumstances in Thrace are all more recent than the direct Persian contact in the period after the campaign of Dareios I up to about 470 BC, when Thrace was probably a satrapy of the Persian Empire. The same applies to objects found east of the Black Sea. Therefore, they must basically have been "antique" objects which were placed in the graves of the leaders.

What is the context in which objects made in "satrapal art" style are to be placed? The question arises as to whether they are to be considered only as contemporary imitations of originals, as Archibald assumes,<sup>12</sup> or whether they must be considered as a conscious extension of the style of the great empire, as is proposed here.

Generally, objects of Perso-barbarian art are clearly more recent, as is apparent from their adoption from Greek art. As an example, for the western region of the Black Sea, vessels inscribed with the word "Kotys" can be mentioned. They are understood to be gifts from the Thracian king, Kotys (383/82-359 BC), to neighbouring leaders.<sup>13</sup> The (inter)relationships of these three groups must be considered from various aspects.

Thus, the chronological classifications must be examined in order to determine whether they correspond to political movements, such as the expansion and withdrawal of the Persians. In addition, the topographical classifications must be considered. Were objects which stylistically are the least like court-style art found furthest away from the centre of the Achaemenid Empire? Similarly, the number of finds in the various regions must be cross-referenced because, in spite of the detail of the original material so far known, trends have yet to be established.

The question of the classification of types follows, as a difference in weighting between finds in the east and the west is conspicuous. As yet, there is a large amount of seals and decoration in court-style art only in the east, not in the west, which is rather poor in these "original" products. An evaluation of all the finds will throw new light on the spread of typical Achaemenid elements and thus allow a better understanding of the mechanisms of the cultural convergence and development, as the transfer of culture will be more

transparent and the acculturation in the various topographical regions can be described better.

### *Achaemenid court-style art*

The expression “court style” (“Hofstil”) was coined by Furtwängler<sup>14</sup> and made widely known by Boardman, who applied it to the classification of Persian stamp seals,<sup>15</sup> even though “Empire style” had already been used by Herzfeld<sup>16</sup> and occasionally also adopted, together with other terms, by Boardman for metalwork.<sup>17</sup> Boardman explained the trend in style in glyptic through a lack of Greek influence and the presence of Assyrian influence. For Boardman were – in addition to the shapes of seals – places of production and iconographic elements relevant. Thus, alongside the motifs (for example, date palms, griffins), antiquarian features (such as pleated garments) were also criteria of the court style. Stylistic peculiarities had a secondary role, even though the reliefs from Persepolis provided a model. In what follows, the term is above all limited to glyptic products.<sup>18</sup> Garrison<sup>19</sup> tried for the first time to express this style in concrete terms and to stress its variety of shapes.<sup>20</sup> Since glyptic in general is subject to very many more influences than monumental art, in the meantime, very fine differentiations in style have been made.<sup>21</sup>

On this basis, a court-style art is presented here which, on the one hand, is much wider, as it can also be used for other types of products, but which, on the other hand, is narrower, as it is demonstrably orientated to products of the Persian court.<sup>22</sup> Alongside pure stylistic elements in the sense of art-historical concepts, “style” characteristics are also listed. Basically, we can assume that, starting with Dareios I (521-486 BC), a style was created that remained decisive for the following generations. Therefore, it was dependent on representations in the Achaemenid palaces in Persepolis, Susa and Pasargadae.<sup>23</sup> The reliefs in Persepolis<sup>24</sup> in particular show a uniform style, which in the following almost 200 years was to be modified only slightly. The palace in Susa was also newly built under Dareios I<sup>25</sup> and lined with reliefs in glazed brickwork.<sup>26</sup>

Basically, firm canons of form for the patterned strips and the shapes of the animals represented can be determined. All the elements, as well as the composition,<sup>27</sup> are marked by a formal rigidity as well as ornamentation and leave only little room for individual divergences.<sup>28</sup> In what follows, the most important stylistic elements will be set out.<sup>29</sup>

As examples of continuing patterns, strips of rosettes,<sup>30</sup> which formally separate the reliefs of the various peoples, conifers<sup>31</sup>, which again frame the individual nationalities, as well as chequered plants<sup>32</sup> can be mentioned. All the originally floral elements have almost become geometric shapes because of their ornamental images. The same applies to the friezes of lotus palmettes, which, for example, were found as a decoration on the bell-shaped bases in Persepolis.<sup>33</sup> Basically, it should be noted that any naturalness and movement<sup>34</sup> seems unwelcome (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. *Curtis & Tallis 2005, cat. no. 46.*

Similarly, animals are predominantly represented in abstract form, since muscles and hair are turned into ornamentation.<sup>35</sup> In addition, a particularly symmetrical representation is striven for. Thus, on a lion's head there is a clear separation of the mane, which is indicated by a doubled line<sup>36</sup> or a collar of loop-shaped elements<sup>37</sup> or indentations.<sup>38</sup> The nose is marked by a double stepped – straight or round – line. Above the nose there are two round tips.<sup>39</sup> The lips are always grooved,<sup>40</sup> the snout often has a double border<sup>41</sup> and the cheeks are indicated by one<sup>42</sup> or two<sup>43</sup> horizontal tear-shaped elements. A thick bulge above the eyes pointing inwards can again assume this form.<sup>44</sup> Mostly, the ears are raised up hemispherically and the hair inside is occasionally indicated by parallel lines.<sup>45</sup> When a mane is shown, it is formed from several elongated lozenges standing on their points.<sup>46</sup> In many cases, their tips continue under in a curl or small wave, all bent to one side.<sup>47</sup> The lion's shoulders are not covered with the mane, they are marked with a sharp border, while frequently the belly hair on the side is bent slightly upwards in various ways.<sup>48</sup> The body itself is also marked off by various ornamentations, derived from abstract stylized muscles. While on the foreleg the stylized muscles can be indicated by an inverted "tulip"<sup>49</sup>, the shoulder is almost always exaggerated by a doubled, framed element, which looks either like a figure of eight<sup>50</sup> or a pretzel<sup>51</sup> or is formed from a circle and one tear-shaped element<sup>52</sup> (pear-and-apple) or two.<sup>53</sup> In addition, there is a circular lump under the belly.<sup>54</sup> The hindquarters are also indicated by ornaments in the shape of a circle and one or two bean-shaped elements.<sup>55</sup> Occasionally the joint of the hindquarters is stylized with a small filled circle or a small filled figure of eight,<sup>56</sup> which in turn is surrounded by lines (to represent sinews).<sup>57</sup> The tuft can be shaped like an arrow, a heart or a bud<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Boardman 2003, 135, fig. 3.34.

Other animals also show stylized parts of the body. On the bulls from Persepolis, the heads are separated by lines – stylized eagles – leading to the muzzle and jowls. The base of the long cone-shaped ears is round and lumpy<sup>59</sup> and the horns are slightly bent.<sup>60</sup> The eyes are round and the inner corner of the eyes can be emphasized.<sup>61</sup> Often the brows over the eyes are separated inside by lines,<sup>62</sup> an ornamentation also found on the caprids.<sup>63</sup> Conspicuous is the ornamentation of the mane. This frames the cheeks, decorates the crest and on the back closes as a semicircle, it runs down diagonally on the chest and, like a strip, can indicate the hair on the belly, back and hindquarters.<sup>64</sup> The same structure is also found in the shape of the beards on caprids.<sup>65</sup> Of course, beards on caprids – occasionally in two rows – can also be provided with a tongue pattern<sup>66</sup> or as fluted.<sup>67</sup> The horns of the caprids are recognizable by the schematically drawn, conspicuous natural annual rings. Typical of the horses is the curved forehead.<sup>68</sup> Calves are often distinguished by long ears, which are also typical in simplified representations, for example on bracelets.<sup>69</sup>

Hybrid creatures combine the elements mentioned above. As an example, a brief description of the popular lion-griffins and bird-griffins can be given. Lion-griffins have the body and head of a lion, bird-griffins have the body of a lion and the head of a raptor. Both hybrids usually have long bulls' ears and curved horns, which can be shaped like a chain of balls<sup>70</sup> and provided

with a ball<sup>71</sup> or ending like a sort of trumpet<sup>72</sup> or rolled up.<sup>73</sup> Occasionally, the griffins have an upright crest, intended to emphasize the feature of a raptor.<sup>74</sup> As another important feature of Achaemenid court style, the bent wings of all the creatures can be mentioned<sup>75</sup> (Fig. 3).

The tendency towards ornamentation is also noticeable in the way humans are represented. Alongside a uniform rigidity of the forms – occasionally again interrupted by quite stiff movements, intended to indicate vivacity<sup>76</sup> – the details exhibit a great deal of abstraction. If individual parts of the body, for example, the hair, are considered separately, they never look realistic, but appear as a uniform pattern.<sup>77</sup>

Here, typical features, relating to the shape and choice of motif and thus not belonging to the criteria of style for the history of art, will be included. Thus, one criterion in metalwork is the blending of a motif with the object. Very good examples are the ends of bracelets and necklaces as well as the handles of containers. Typically, the front part of the creature depicted – usually animals and hybrids rather than humans<sup>78</sup> – is in full relief, i.e. paws, wings etc., whereas the back part is in shallow relief. Often the relief is only



Fig. 3. Frankfort 1950, pl. 1.

recognizable on a second look, as it merges with the object.<sup>79</sup> A further possibility of the *pars pro toto* depiction is that only the head of an animal or hybrid creature is represented. As evidence are the decorations from containers<sup>80</sup> as well as from the numerous bracelets.<sup>81</sup> A peculiarity of the shape of the bracelet should also be mentioned here. Opposite the opening they have almost a “wave”-shaped part running in the opposite direction, which originally would absorb the pressure on opening and closing.<sup>82</sup> However, as is also found on cast bracelets filled with frit,<sup>83</sup> this feature seems later not to have been functional but to have become an ornamental feature of this group of material (cf. Figs. 5, 10, 14).

Particularly typical forms are the rhyton, the amphora with a spout and the bowl. Usually, a rhyton has a slightly open horn on top and a protome in the form of an animal or hybrid.<sup>84</sup> As on the bracelets, occasionally the rear of the creature’s body is blended with the vessel<sup>85</sup> (Fig. 4). Often there is an opening between the forelegs through which the drink can be poured directly into one’s mouth or into a bowl.<sup>86</sup> This shape of vessel, which is not without forerunners, was very widespread in later periods.<sup>87</sup> In contrast, amphorae with spouts are restricted to the Persian period. These are amphorae with two handles, and one handle has a tube-shaped extension and additionally serves as a spout, which is quite a refinement. In this way, function is combined with a perfect shape.<sup>88</sup> Alternatively, the amphorae can have a spout underneath and these are called “amphora-rhyta”.<sup>89</sup> The phiale is a shallow bowl or slightly raised bowl (known as “Achaemenid beakers”) with or without an omphalos.<sup>90</sup> Occasionally there is a “false” omphalos, i.e. the navel is not worked as a raised part of the body of the vessel but as a separate element placed



Fig. 4. Boardman 2003, 225, fig. 5.69.

inside the bowl.<sup>91</sup> Already exceptionally popular during the Assyrian period, as illustrations<sup>92</sup> and finds<sup>93</sup> show, the bowl was widespread especially in the Achaemenid period<sup>94</sup> and was also a popular shape in Greece.<sup>95</sup> As few bowls come from secure contexts in Iran, it is difficult to determine what the typical bowls of court-style art look like. Following the tradition of Assyrian models and the illustrations on the reliefs in Persepolis, pure geometric decoration can be seen as typical, the various patterns of which can be determined as variants of tongues, grooves<sup>96</sup>, lotus blossoms and bosses. It should be noted that undecorated bowls cannot be placed in the categories given here.

In order to classify an object as court-style art, (almost) all the criteria mentioned above must be met. If there are deviations, then it is a product of satrapal art (see below). If there are significant changes and the objects only remotely evoke Achaemenid models, the objects belong to the group of artefacts produced by Perso-barbarian art (see below).

A few artefacts from the regions around the Black Sea can be mentioned as examples which correspond to court-style art. There is a huge number of these objects in the east.

Here can be mentioned two pairs of golden bracelets from Vani in Georgia. The first pair comprises two identically shaped bracelets, with the openings ending in caprid heads.<sup>97</sup> They are recognizable by the typical round shape of the eyes, which end in a point inside, the long ears, on the lower inside of which are signs of stylized hair, the two-pointed beard and fine twisted horns. The second pair consists of bracelets with U-shaped cross-sections, the open sides of which point outwards and were once filled with frit.<sup>98</sup> One bracelet ends in a lion's head, inside whose ears hair is indicated by hatched lines. The other bracelet has finials of calves' heads, with brows, double beards and long ears with details of fur inside them (Fig. 5a, 5b). The head seems to have been moulded following a standardized model, the shape and size of which fit the mould found in Persepolis<sup>99</sup> (Fig. 6). Besides its individual elements of style, the "wave" opposite the opening also shows that it unequivocally belongs to the court style. In Kertch on the Krim, two cylinder seals<sup>100</sup> were found, corresponding to court-style art. The first shows the king wearing a pleated

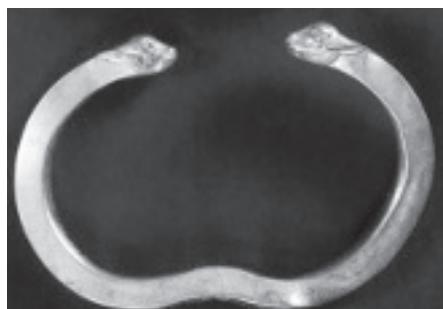


Fig. 5. Miron & Orthmann 1995, 149, cat. no. 148.

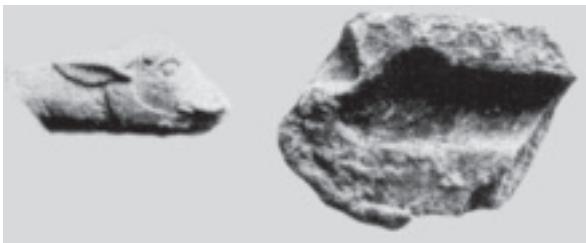


Fig. 6. Schmidt 1957, 79,  
fig. 16.

garment and a crown, vanquishing two Lamassu standing upright.<sup>101</sup> Further motifs are a caprid standing upright and a winged sun with a human head hovering over the scene. It is framed by a date palm. There is also a second date palm on the second seal. Here, a Persian king wearing a pleated garment and a crown leads four prisoners behind him, while with his lance he presses down on a fifth, kneeling in front of him.<sup>102</sup> Alongside the palm motif, which unequivocally belongs to the court style,<sup>103</sup> the compositions of the seals betray the stiffness mentioned previously, whether in the heraldic representation of the king defeating the hybrids or in the line-up of the prisoners.<sup>104</sup>

It is difficult to classify objects from the region of Thrace west of the Black Sea as court-style art.<sup>105</sup> An example is a silver vessel with a neck but without a handle, which comes from the grave mound of Rozovec.<sup>106</sup> The body of the egg-shaped vessel seems to grow out of a lotus bud, its large grooved leaves embracing the body in relief. The shoulder is decorated with a tongue pattern, the neck left smooth (Fig. 7). There are no true models for the form in metal – based on the state of research today – found in an unequivocally Achaemenid context.<sup>107</sup> Two vessels of similar shape and size in glazed pottery from Persepolis have come to light<sup>108</sup> and also reliefs from the same place can be considered.<sup>109</sup> Likewise, ancient representations can help, since, even if on the reliefs from Persepolis only amphorae with handles are known, seals in the Achaemenidizing style demonstrate that bowls, handle-less containers and spoons belonged to drinking sets, as a Persian wife provides her husband with wine using such utensils.<sup>110</sup> If we turn to the lotus decoration, it is clear that here a typical adoption from a great empire has taken place. The lotus pattern is also found on bowls which originally were decorated with ribs or tongues, and in Egypt this was a typical local decoration.<sup>111</sup> This decoration comes from lotus beakers with a tall stem, which show a transposition of a lotus blossom. Once accepted into the Achaemenid repertoire of shapes, vessels with this decoration were also acquired in the satrapies of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>112</sup> The same applies to the tongue pattern, which perhaps in this period derived from a Greek milieu,<sup>113</sup> but in the Near East it was already documented in the Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>114</sup> During the Achaemenid period, this motif is found not only on the manes of caprids, but also as decoration on the façades of the tombs of the Achaemenid kings in Naqsh-i Rustam,<sup>115</sup> as a border on parts of buildings in Persepolis<sup>116</sup> and as decoration on the vessels, carried by the bringers of

*Fig. 7. Bonn 2004, 232, cat. no. 238.*

tribute, on the Apadana staircase.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, this vessel combines disparate elements: an Oriental shape<sup>118</sup> and two originally non-Oriental decorative elements, which, however, were incorporated into the art of the great empire. As these adaptations had occurred already at the start of the fifth century BC, they are elements – the tongue pattern more clearly than the lotus decoration<sup>119</sup> – that should be added to the repertoire of court-style art. Thus the vessel can be placed in the category of court-style art. Several bowls with geometric decoration from Thrace also belong to this category.<sup>120</sup>

#### *Achaemenidizing satrapal art*

This category includes trends in style which very closely follow court-style art and directly imitate it, but which, through omissions and the adoption of new elements of form or material, also deviate from it.<sup>121</sup> However, this does not mean that the objects produced in the satrapies must necessarily deviate from the court style. Rather, the category denotes variously weighted trends in style in the respective satrapies that are very close to the original style. From the nature of these products, we can presume that they were probably made in the main towns of the satrapies.<sup>122</sup>

As an example, a bull rhyton which comes from a hoard from Borovo can be mentioned<sup>123</sup> (Fig. 8a, 8b). Two other rhyta were discovered together with it, one with a horse protome, the other with a sphinx protome, as well as a vessel with a neck and a foot bowl. Whereas non-Persian influences are evident

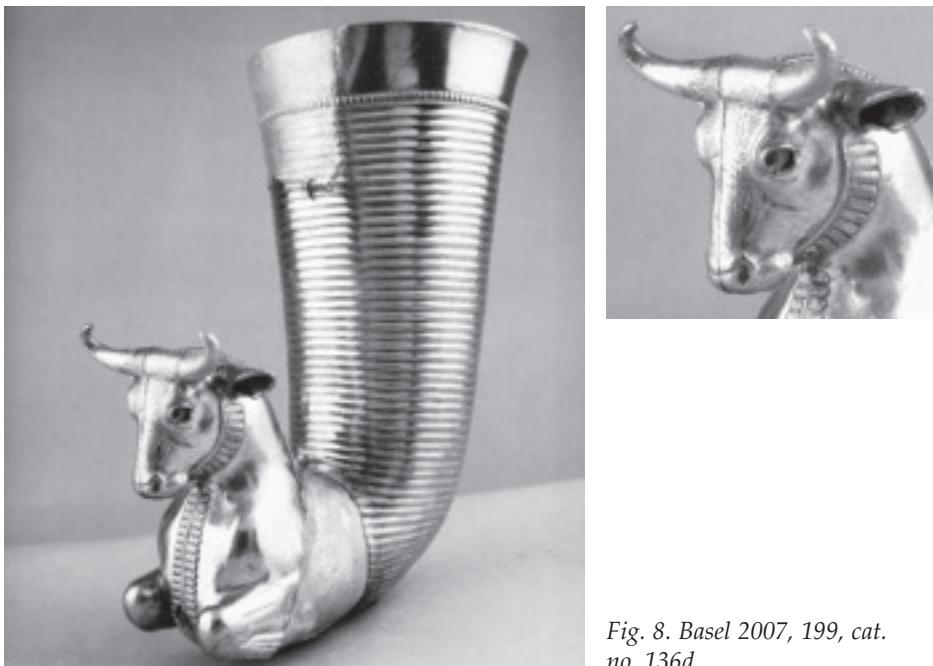


Fig. 8. Basel 2007, 199, cat. no. 136d.

in the other two rhyta, the bull rhyton is occasionally considered to be in the typical Achaemenid style.<sup>124</sup> At first glance, the elaboration of the bull appears exactly the same as in the representations on the capitals in Persepolis. There are the same shapes in the posture of the head and forelegs. The stylization of the eyes, the indication of veins on the face and the hair ornamentation on the belly, beard and back correspond to the court style. However, the way the hair is depicted on the back and the small circular hollows in the mouth do not occur on any of the court-style art models. These small alterations are intended to provide realism. Even when they are quite remote from reality, because they are so schematic, they still contradict the Near Eastern tendency for ornamentation and would be unthinkable in Achaemenid court-style art.<sup>125</sup>

Common to all three rhyta<sup>126</sup> is the use of two colours. They were formed from silver, but the parts to be especially emphasized, such as the manes, hooves and geometrical decoration on the mouth of the horn, were gilded.<sup>127</sup> As far as I know, this technique was not employed for objects in the court style.<sup>128</sup> In any case, here it must be added that most court-style containers in precious metals do not come from academic excavations<sup>129</sup> but from the art market,<sup>130</sup> and, as a consequence, their authenticity can be doubtful.<sup>131</sup> Bichrome objects from Anatolia are also known.<sup>132</sup> A horse- or shield-decoration from the Oxus Treasure also seems to come from this region<sup>133</sup> and should provisionally be considered typical of the satrapies of Asia Minor. If, as Vickers<sup>134</sup> attempted to explain, the appearance of red-figured vases was influenced by partially gilded silver vases, this would mean that in Athens,

and thus probably also in Ionia, bichrome metal containers had been the standard.<sup>135</sup> A transfer of the use of two colours to products of satrapal art made in Asia Minor<sup>136</sup> would certainly seem possible.<sup>137</sup> According to Athenaeus, this technique was known in Lycia.<sup>138</sup> The Anatolian workshops may have served Thrace, as Boardman has previously suggested<sup>139</sup>, and so it would not be surprising to find bichrome metal vessels there.

This result brings us to the well-known amphora from Duvanli (Fig. 9a). Generally, it is stressed as an especially good example of an Achaemenid vessel in Thrace.<sup>140</sup> All its features concur with the court style: the single elements and the ornamentation of the hybrids,<sup>141</sup> the tongue pattern also known to the Achaemenids<sup>142</sup> as well as the palmette-lotus frieze which is also found on tiles from Susa,<sup>143</sup> and, not least, the typical Achaemenid shape. Once the use of two colours, which is unusual for the court style, has drawn our attention, on closer inspection further deviations can be identified, even though only in the detail (Fig. 9b). Thus, underneath, in the stylized forequarters, in the spandrel of a quarter palmette, in the stylized shoulder, instead of the balanced relationship between a circle and a teardrop, is what is more like a circle, in the middle of which there is a stylized cowlick.<sup>144</sup> In addition, alongside the crests of the lion-griffins there are two rolled-up locks of hair underneath, a motif which originated in the Aegean.<sup>145</sup> On the basis of this small modification, as well as the overall colouring, the vessel should be accepted into the group of satrapal art, even though it is surprisingly close to court-style art.<sup>146</sup> Conceivably, such examples were produced either in Sardis or Daskyleion.<sup>147</sup>

Fig. 9. Basel 2007, 176, cat. no. 124.



The craftsman who created the shape and the decoration could have been a Persian, who had been stimulated by local craftsmen, who in turn later also adopted the technique of gilding.

There is another type of foreign influence on two unusual vessels found far north of the Black Sea in Filippovka, kurgan 1, treasure pit 2. One is a silver rhyton, ending in a bull protome.<sup>148</sup> Although close to the original – for example the protomes of the columns in Persepolis – the slightly different way the body is handled as well as the sloping forehead indicate a foreign element. The second object is a gold amphora,<sup>149</sup> its handle made in the form of a leaping ram. As usual, the handle is covered with an animal relief on the underside and ends in lions' paws. Conspicuous on both objects is the lack of ornamentation on the bodies and also missing is the decoration on the vessel, such as fluting, etc., often found in court-style art.

A further example of satrapal art, clearly even more remote from court-style art than the vessels mentioned above, is a pair of bracelets found in Pichvnari in Georgia in a tomb<sup>150</sup> (Fig. 10). Both identically shaped bracelets are made of silver, and opposite the opening they have the typical Achaemenid "wave" and end in calves' heads. These show round eyes, simple fluted sideburns and long ears, inside which the details of the coat are depicted by hatching. A few criteria of court-style art are followed: silver is used very often for typical calf-head bracelets,<sup>151</sup> the round ears and beards and the long ears are also part of the repertoire. However, clear differences can be noted: the heads do not merge with the bracelet, but seem to have been put on top, the brows over the eyes are missing and some simplification and rough fashioning are to be noted.

These three examples indicate how objects of satrapal art can be both close to and different from the original in various ways.

In the last section it was noted that for the bowls, due to the number of objects and the variety of their decoration, on the one hand, and due to the



Fig. 10. Gamaschidze 2001, 429, cat. no. 420.

lack of information concerning the original court-style art objects due to the unsatisfactory number of finds, on the other hand, allocation to the categories proposed here is difficult. Even so, I shall make an attempt to define satrapal art within this genre. First, bowls will be included which have a geometric pattern that diverges from bowls (phiale) belonging to court-style art. Examples are bowls from Pichvnari and Vani.<sup>152</sup> The bowl from Pichvnari has an inner frieze of fan-shaped blossoms with bosses in the spaces between them. A comparable pattern is known from a bowl from Susa.<sup>153</sup> An outer frieze is made from a ring of fluting and is separated from the inner decoration by an emphatic bulge. This separation is unusual for Achaemenid bowls.<sup>154</sup> The bowl from Vani is decorated with three narrowly trimmed rows of bosses, all of which have a pronounced frame. Common to both bowls – and unusual for the court style – is a fine decorated strip running round the large omphalos, in one case a row of pearls with palmettes and in the second example with a tongue pattern. The other set of bowls which in my opinion should be added to the category of satrapal art are the ones decorated with figured ornamentation in the Achaemenid style. Even though, as far as I know, as yet only a small number of such objects from the Black Sea region are known, they still form an important transition point to Perso-barbarian art (see below). A good example is the Kazbek bowl from Georgia,<sup>155</sup> which has two parallels in Rhodes<sup>156</sup> (Fig. 11). On each of the bowls, between almond-shaped bosses, is



Fig. 11. Boardman 2003, 229, fig. 5.73a.

a pair of swans' heads whose long necks form a lyre-shaped element which is decorated with palmettes. Swan and duck protomes in the round have been found on stone vessels from Persepolis<sup>157</sup> and clearly show Achaemenid inspiration, which fuses a decoration of spandrel and palmettes. A few additional examples can better illustrate the group of artefacts decorated with Achaemenid-style figures. Thus, from the Oxus Treasure a bowl with bosses depicting lions walking upright is known, which has a parallel in a bowl from the art market with the winged and crowned figures of Bes with lions' bodies.<sup>158</sup> We have to include bowls belonging to the so-called "Lydian Treasure"<sup>159</sup> which are also covered with figures. Stylistically, they do belong to the Achaemenid style but, as with the figures of Bes, there is a noticeable shift in content.<sup>160</sup> Two rows of identical figures are depicted in gold on silver – a crowned figure in the Persian pleated garment, holding a lotus blossom in one hand and a ring or crown in the other. This iconography is unusual,<sup>161</sup> as, strictly speaking, a deity would hold a ring<sup>162</sup> and the king a lotus blossom.<sup>163</sup> Therefore, there has been a fusion, comparable to the figure of Bes on the bowls mentioned above.

Finally, yet another example for satrapal art from another area can be mentioned: from architecture. In Sidon a capital with two bulls<sup>164</sup> was found, which is related to the capitals from Persepolis,<sup>165</sup> even if it is more realistic and has softer contours. Even so, the ornamented manes, the brows over the eyes, the emphasized veins and the decorative stripes have been retained (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. Curtis & Tallis 2005, 41, fig. 29.

*Perso-barbarian art*

The final category in this discussion relates to objects which combine an Achaemenid original with both indigenous and Greek influences. The expression “Perso-barbarian art” has been chosen in order to indicate that these objects mix Achaemenid court-style art and satrapal art with trends in art and style that are already present.<sup>166</sup> These indigenous peculiarities also include Greek influences,<sup>167</sup> which are to be explained, on the one hand, by the proximity to Greece of the colonial towns on the Thracian Mediterranean coast and, on the other, by the existence of Greek colonies on the coast of the Black Sea. The problems mentioned at the beginning of the article concerning the craftsmen, their training, their teachers and the location of their workshops,<sup>168</sup> as well as the question as to how they followed the wishes of those commissioning them, will be seen most clearly for this category and in many cases remain insoluble.

Basically, we can say that this fusion has many facets. It must be stressed, however, that in most cases it was not elements of artistic style that were adopted, but rather shapes. This means that the most obvious, external form, the silhouette – whether for amphorae, bowls, rhyta or decoration – determines the identification as “pseudo-Achaemenid”. The idea but not the style was adopted – for example by the Scythians<sup>169</sup> – to some extent, not even the motif.<sup>170</sup> This again allows the conclusion that attempts were made to emulate objects, to imitate them and so follow the Persian Empire. This would mean that the Persian Empire was seen not only as an opponent but also as an inspiration and a bringer of culture, with the Persian lifestyle worth striving for. In this connection, an interest in the exotic cannot be completely excluded.<sup>171</sup>

I consider it questionable whether it is possible to consider objects combining different elements – Persian, Greek and indigenous – into a synthesis as having their own trends in style, when not all the influences have the same relationship and so develop their own particular styles. Archibald attempted to do this, labelling some objects as in “Odrysian ‘Court style’”.<sup>172</sup>

A very good example of Perso-barbarian art is an amphora from Panagyurishte<sup>173</sup> (Fig. 13). The egg-shaped vessel has a decorated body, which, as on the amphora from Duvanli, is decorated on the shoulder with a frieze of lotus-palmettes and a tongue pattern. Underneath, a figure is shown. The neck is left smooth. The two handles are formed from two centaurs with bows, the lower parts of their bodies merging with the neck whilst the upper parts are worked freely. The rim is bent outwards and decorated with a pearl and egg pattern. Under the base of the handle there are negro heads with an open mouth as a wine-pourer. This amphora is the ideal example to show the imitation of an Achaemenid object in Perso-barbarian art. The silhouette corresponds to the egg-shaped container with a slender neck opening at the top, as do the emphasis of the transition of both parts of the vessel with a lip decorated with a border of alternating egg-shaped and arrowhead-shaped patterns<sup>174</sup>, the two figures on the handle bent at the hip, which grow out of



Fig. 13. Basel 2007, 201, cat. no. 137a.

the handle after a bulge-shaped thickening, and its size.<sup>175</sup> The shape of the spout and especially the style of the decoration are different.

Two pairs of bracelets from Vani are mentioned here, in order to show how far apart from each other objects classified as Perso-barbarian art can be. On the one hand, there are the golden bracelets whose ends are decorated with complete animals.<sup>176</sup> The decoration comprises crouching wild boar, their hide shown by hatched lines. The ring has no "wave" opposite the opening.<sup>177</sup> Even if animal-head bracelets are known from the beginning of the first millennium BC both in Mesopotamia<sup>178</sup> and in Iran<sup>179</sup>, we must assume that here Achaemenid bracelets served as models.<sup>180</sup> For the bracelets decorated with wild boar, the allusion is to the Persians in the widest sense.<sup>181</sup> On the other hand, two gold bracelets should be presented, which, based on their shape with the "wave" opposite the opening, are associated with the Achaemenids (Fig. 14). The ends, with their crude carving, allow one to suspect Achaemenid models, without which the decoration would be inexplicable. Here, heads with the pattern of a mane are intended, as known from the decoration of the rich tomb of a woman from Susa.<sup>182</sup> The silhouette of this jewellery for the arm evokes something supposedly Achaemenid.

As a further example, some rhyta found in Borovo can be mentioned. Only the shape of the sphinx rhyton still evokes an Achaemenid original and the horse rhyton may also allude to the horse-riding peoples of Persia.<sup>183</sup> A horse rhyton from Bashova must be added, which is as impressive as it is lifelike.<sup>184</sup>

In the previous section, these bowls were defined as satrapal art, with their clear modifications in ornamental decoration. Also included are phialae

Fig. 14. Berlin 2007a, 135.



decorated with figures, especially as the decoration deviated slightly from the court style. Again, bowls in the category of Perso-barbarian art demonstrate a further development of the previous variants. On some bowls from the treasure found in Rogozen,<sup>185</sup> the pattern of an omphalos bowl is certainly retained, occasionally also the bosses, but the figured motifs inscribed on the bowls have been changed to indigenous motifs: the motifs are faces and bulls' heads. An additional good example for Perso-barbarian art is a particularly lavishly shaped bichrome bowl, also from the treasure found in Rogozen.<sup>186</sup> Its omphalos is framed by petals. In an outer frieze sit very thin winged lion-griffins facing each other in pairs, their tails framed by palmettes. There are also simple fluted bowls, which instead of an omphalos have a raised face.<sup>187</sup> These are so remote from court-style art in terms of content that we cannot call them satrapal art and so they must belong to Perso-barbarian art (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15. Bonn 2004, 201, cat. no. 231d.



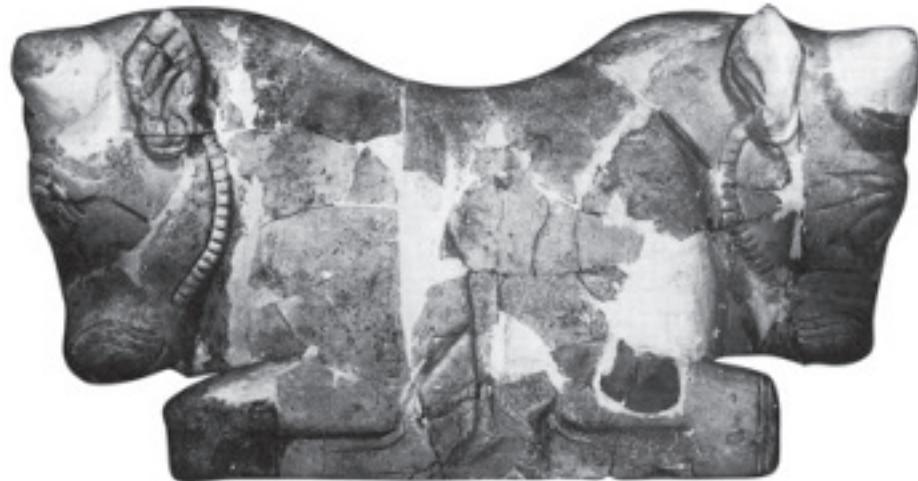


Fig. 16. Miron & Orthmann 1995, 170, fig. 174.

As a last example, an architectural element can be given, which came to light in Zichiagora in Georgia<sup>188</sup> (Fig. 16). The small capital with two bulls<sup>189</sup> is a remote imitation of the bull capitals from Achaemenid palaces,<sup>190</sup> although the rounded saddle shows that it is not an architectural support as at Persepolis. Furthermore, the sculpture does not completely match the original either in its proportions or in its decoration, although reminiscences are recognizable. Thus the eyes are round and the internal corner is pointed, over the eyes there is a divided bulge and where the ear joins there are two hemispherical lumps. The beard on the jowls and the coat on the chest are stylized as ornamental stripes, although each in different ways and completely unlike the original.

### Summary

The classification set out here is a proposal. It should provide an aid to classifying the wide variety of material from the whole Persian Empire – not just the regions bordering the Black Sea – in order to form a better foundation for work in the future. The development of this system and its explanation are still ongoing, and many finds have not as yet been appraised<sup>191</sup> or have only just come to light.<sup>192</sup> The intention is to arrive at a broad classification that is also quite comprehensible to non-specialists in Achaemenid studies. The eloquent names proposed here for the three groups, namely court-style art, satrapal art and Perso-barbarian art – especially the last label – already represent an evaluation and so must be understood as an interpretation. In my opinion, however, only with such labelling, even if it is perhaps provocative, can the discussion be set in motion and one's eye for objects from the

Kingdom of Persia become sharper. Finally, it should once again be noted that the frame of reference for this modern classification is flexible. Also, there are many objects whose classification is not clear and which must be regarded as transitional pieces from one group to another. In addition, there are objects whose features do not fit the classification proposed here. It is to be hoped that in the long term further research on material from other regions can lead to a more exact definition of these groups.

## Notes

- 1 I would like to express my gratitude to Wilfred G.E. Watson for translation of the text.
- 2 Probable exceptions are the seals produced in Asia Minor. Furtwängler (1900, Bd. II, 55, Bd. III, 116) called them "griechisch-persisch". This description was accepted and later used extensively in the form of "graeco-persisch". Cf. Zazoff 1983, 175 pp.; Boardman 2003, 186 pp.
- 3 Rehm 1992, 260-261.
- 4 Jacobs 2002, 345, 387-388.
- 5 A – somewhat more open – division into three categories ("achämenidisches Importstück" [cat. no. A]; "von achämenidischer Tradition beeinflußt" [cat. no. B]; "Werke, die mit dem Achämenidischen nur noch entfernt zu tun haben" [cat. no. C]) has been proposed by Luschey (1983, 322 pp.). I would classify some objects that he considered to be "achämenidisch" as Achaemizing. Based on the adoption of Achaemenid art in central Asia, Francfort (2007, 277) described a model with five phases: "On peut procéder à des 'copies' fidèles des originaux, à des imitations, à des contrefaçons, à des dérivations, à des transformations". In a similar study, Miller (1993) used the terms "Adoption" and "Adaption" for the borrowing of Achaemenid metal moulds in Attic black-glazed ware.
- 6 Some blurring of the groups cannot be avoided. This applies especially to the classification of material that comes from such a wide area and was subject to countless influences.
- 7 As alternatives, the expressions "Perso-indigenous art" or "peripheral art" can be proposed, even though these are, in fact, more neutral they are also more liable to be misunderstood.
- 8 For discussion, see, for example, Braun-Holzinger & Rehm 2005, 178 pp, (on ancient Near Eastern craftsmen in Greece); Boardman 2003, 153 pp. (on foreign craftsmen in Persia documented in the inscriptions); Luschey 1983, 316; Ewigleben 1989; Boardman 1994, 189; Ebbinghaus 1999, 405-406 (on the Thracian or Greek craftsmen of objects found in Thrace).
- 9 For the heartland, a mould for an animal's head as part of a bracelet came to light in Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, 79, fig. 16). For a satrapy, punches, but with motifs that are clearly not Achaemenid, are found together with the so-called Lydian Treasure; its find context is unknown (Özgen & Öztürk 1996). Some Greek writers occasionally report on craftsmen in short notes. However, no information is available about the origin or training of these craftsmen.
- 10 Lefebvre 1923. The illustrations in the tomb of Petosiris (ca. 300 BC) are indicative of workers who, as well as other objects influenced by Greece, produced objects that – as far as can be determined – are Achaemenid in form and style, for example

rhyta. However, it is not clear from the illustrations whether the objects belong to court-style art or to satrapal art. Instead, in the inscriptions the craftsmen are described clearly as the best in the country. Proof that objects in court-style art were produced in Egypt comes from the rhinoceros-horn knife handles, which plainly must be considered as court-style art. Stucky 1985, nos. 34-36, pl. 10; cf. Rehm 2006, fig. 4.

- 11 So, for example, Fischer 1983, 193-194.
- 12 Cf. also Archibald 1989, 15.
- 13 Fischer 1983, 193-194; Luschey 1983, 317; Fol 1989; Hind 1989; Archibald 1998, 222 pp., 260-261; Bonn 2004, 293 (Rogozen), for example.
- 14 Furtwängler 1900, Bd. III, 116.
- 15 Boardman 1970b, 305pp. He differentiated between "Archaic Court style" and "Classical Court style". Many of his examples exhibit non-Oriental features. The discussion concerning the extent to which the Greeks influenced Achaemenid style cannot be considered further here. Cf. also Boardman 1970a, 30pp.
- 16 Herzfeld 1988, 274.
- 17 Boardman 2003, 221, 298, n. 458.
- 18 Garrison & Cool Root 2001, 18-19; Kaptan 2002, 108; Merrillees 2005, 32 pp.
- 19 Garrison 1991, 13 pp.
- 20 Cf. Garrison & Cool Root 2001, 19.
- 21 Cf. Boardman 1970b, 309 pp; Garrison 1991; Merrillees 2005, 25 pp.
- 22 For this category, Jacobs (2002, 388), proposed the term "(achämenidenzeitlich-persisch", which in my opinion, however, is confused since it should, in fact, be the other way round. These objects follow the style of the ruling tribe, the Achaemenids, and their buildings, whereas the whole Empire is to be understood as Persian.
- 23 The reliefs in Pasargadae, which are from the time of Cyrus, as the inscriptions added later would have us believe, are still clearly based on Neo-Assyrian models; cf. Stronach 1978, 68 pp., pls. 58-61.
- 24 Schmidt 1953; Walser 1966; Walser 1980.
- 25 Cf. the text in which Dareios gives an account of the building of the palace and describes which of the peoples had performed each particular task; Kent 1953, 142 pp. (DSf).
- 26 Amiet 1977, 141, 142, 676-679.
- 27 The rigid representation is particularly obvious in the procession of the so-called "Unsterblichen" and "Adeligen" on the Apadana staircase (Schmidt 1953, pl. 57-59) as well as elsewhere. In other words, where movement and departure should be expected, the effect is stiffness (Schmidt 1953, pl. 70.b-70.c).
- 28 Roaf 1983.
- 29 The influences that this style combines cannot be considered here; cf. Rehm 1992, 253-260. Pfrommer (1990) has indicated the Egyptian influence, which he analysed chronologically.
- 30 Walser 1966, pls. 3-4.
- 31 Walser 1966, pls. 3, 37 (detail).
- 32 Ghirshman 1964, 162-163, 171, fig. 217; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 84, fig. 46.
- 33 Speyer 2006a, 61. On the development of friezes in Greece and in the Near East, cf. Boardman 2003, 99. See also Pfrommer 1990, 196.

34 The occasional staggered arrangement as well as the concern and movement of the so-called nobles on the Apadana clearly show the portrayal to be stylized and wooden; Walser 1980, figs. 59-63.

35 Cf. Rehm 1992, 261 pp.

36 Ghirshman 1964, 239, fig. 286.

37 Ghirshman 1964, 220, fig. 269; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194-195, nos. 301, 302.

38 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193.

39 Ghirshman 1964, 212, fig. 260, 219, fig. 268.

40 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194-195, nos. 301, 302.

41 Ghirshman 1964, 142-143, figs. 191, 193; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194-195, nos. 301, 302.

42 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 102, no. 95.

43 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193, 219, fig. 268; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.

44 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193.

45 Ghirshman 1964, 193, fig. 240 (here, the horizontal lines of the hair at the base of the ears make them look rectangular), 239, fig. 286; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 102, no. 95, 195, no. 303.

46 Ghirshman 1964, 243, fig. 291.

47 Ghirshman 1964, 220, fig. 269; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 102, no. 95; Speyer 2006a, 14.

48 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.

49 Ghirshman 1964, 142-143, figs. 191-193.

50 Ghirshman 1964, 239, fig. 286 (lion on the left); Amiet 1977, fig. 678.

51 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.

52 Ghirshman 1964, 239, fig. 286 (lion on the right); Curtis & Tallis 2005, 194, no. 301.

53 Walser 1980, figs. 88-89.

54 Ghirshman 1964, 143, fig. 193.

55 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191, 239, fig. 286; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138 (hybrid with a lion's body), 147, no. 190.

56 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191, 238, fig. 285 (the relief is of a bird-footed griffin with a scorpion tail; its sinews are represented by the shape of a two-pronged fork).

57 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 78 pp., 84, no. 46.

58 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 78 pp., 84, no. 46, 194, no. 301.

59 Occasionally there is another small, round bobble under the base of the ear: Ghirshman 1964, 137, fig. 186.

60 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 64, no. 16; cf. Ghirshman 1964, 175, fig. 221: also on the "foreign" zebu on the relief of the nations the veins and the eye are represented in this typical way; the horns and ears are shown differently.

61 Curtis & Tallis 2005, title page.

62 Speyer 2006a, 10; Curtis & Tallis 2005, title page.

63 Rehm 1992, 372-375, figs. 30-37; Miron & Orthmann 1995, 149, fig. 148 below. Proof is provided by bracelets, some of which were found in places far from the centre of Persia, such as Vani (Georgia) and Vouni (Cyprus). But the comparison with a mould of the end of a bracelet in the shape of a calf from Persepolis, which exhibits the same shape – without the horns – shows that this is in typical Achaemenid court style. The other known stylistic features on the bracelets, such as the fashioning of parts of the eyes and the brows over the eyes, are in agreement with the features mentioned above; cf. Schmidt 1957, 79, fig. 16.

64 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 192, 216-217, fig. 264, 266; Curtis & Tallis 2005, title page, 97, no. 84.

65 Berlin 2007b, 250, fig. 7, an *akinakes* handle from Certomlyk, but undoubtedly made in the Achaemenid court style.

66 Deppert-Lippitz 1985, 156; Pfrommer 1990, 193 also uses this term for this strip of animals, in any case similarly for the fluting.

67 Cf. n. 63.

68 Schmidt 1953, pl. 29; Roaf 1983, pl. XII; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 70, no. 25, 211, fig. 58.

69 Rehm 1992, 367-371.

70 Especially on seals, cf. Curtis & Tallis 2005, 159, no. 202.

71 Garrison & Cool Root 2001, pl. 179.d.

72 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138. These hybrid creatures are a good example of court style. However, it should be noted that the dot-and-comma style under the stylized hindquarters was borrowed from the art of the steppes, cf. Rehm 1992, 45; Amiet 1977, figs. 707-708; Schmidt 1953, pls. 116, 145; and more recognizable in the drawing in Curtis & Tallis 2005, 82.

73 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191.

74 Ghirshman 1964, 142, fig. 191.

75 Ghirshman 1964, 142, figs. 191, 192, 159, fig. 210; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 84, no. 46, 97, no. 84, 138. On its origin, cf. Rehm 1992, 263-264.

76 Schmidt 1953, pls. 52-52, 57-58, 70-73 (persons turning round interrupt the sequence of people walking in single file). In general, overlapping is rare and is used only in certain situations, such as, for example, people leading animals and what is known as the tribute relief (Walser 1966). It is interesting to note that the reliefs are arranged down to the last detail with great consistency. Thus, the persons bringing tribute on the eastern staircase of the Apadana are shown from the right sides of their bodies, on the northern staircase from their left sides. This is also recognizable from the details of their dress. Similarly, the people leading animals are depicted behind their animals on the east side and in front of them on the north side; cf. Schmidt 1953, pls. 27-49.

77 Walser 1966, pls. 35 pp. with numerous details.

78 Cf. the linchpin, the upper human part of which runs into the nail (Curtis & Tallis 2005, 224-225, nos. 403-404, 212, fig. 59). However, these nails are still in the ancient Near Eastern tradition, as the so-called foundation nails have this shape already in the third millennium BC; cf. Rashid 1983, 1 pp.

79 Decoration: Rehm 1992, 384, figs. 58-59, 385, fig. 60 (here the animal's body is represented only in abstract form, since the ribs are shown, but the hindquarters and legs are missing; cf. 363, fig. 6; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 175, nos. 268-270), 386, fig. 62 (style strongly influenced by Scythian art); Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138, no. 153, 143, no. 168. Handle of the amphora: Curtis & Tallis 2005, 106, fig. 46 (cf. detail: Speyer 2006a, 132, fig. 7), 125, no. 129.

80 Schmidt 1957, pls. 53-54; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 91, no. 59.

81 Rehm 1992, 361-379.

82 Easily recognized in the so-called "immortals" in Susa: Amiet 1977, fig. 139; reliefs in Persepolis: Walser 1980, fig. 64; realiter: Rehm 1992, 47-48.

83 Rehm 1994; Berlin 2007a, 48-49; Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 178-179, no. 130.

84 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 121 pp.

85 Muscarella 1974, no. 155.

86 Speyer 2006a, 192-193, figs. 3-4.

87 For further information, see Boardman 2003, 298, n. 457.

88 Walser 1966, pls. 45-46; Speyer 2006a, 133, figs. 8-9.

89 On the type of vessel, see Haerinck 1980. On its origin in Armenia, see Amandry 1958, 52-54. Cf., for example, Curtis & Tallis 2005, 124, no. 126; Ghirshman 1964, 254, fig. 307.

90 Cf. Dusinberre 1999.

91 Harper 1992, 244, no. 170.

92 Barnett & Lorenzini 1975, figs. 8, 12, 16 (Assurnasirpal II, 883-859 BC), 124, 168 (Assurbanipal, 661-631 BC).

93 Hussein & Suleiman 2000, no. 37, 152, 208 as well as IM 115598 on p. 369.

94 Abka'i-Khavari 1988.

95 Luschey 1939; Speyer 2006b, 61 pp.

96 For the terms "Zungenschalen", "Zungendekor" and "Zungenmuster", cf. Luschey 1939, 79. In this book the term "Zungenfries" is used and denotes decoration formed like an Ionic *kymation* without the middle points.

97 Berlin 2007a, 47.

98 Berlin 2007a, 48-49.

99 Schmidt 1957, 79, fig. 16. The length of each head is 1.8cm. The details were engraved after moulding.

100 Minns 1965, 411, figs. 298.6, 298.9.

101 Human-headed winged bulls, which are known principally from colossal statues functioning as guardians of gates from the Neo-Assyrian palaces.

102 On the seal, see also Strelkov 1937.

103 Persepolis: Schmidt 1957, pl. 3 (nos. 1-3), pl. 4 (nos. 4-7), pl. 5 (no. 8), pl. 8 (no. 24), pl. 9 (no. 32); Ur: Legrain 1951, pl. 41 (778); Daskyleion: Kaptan 2002, 157-164, 174, 182, 182; Memphis: Petrie 1910, pl. XXXV, 27, 30, 31, pl. XXXVI, 27, 30, 31.

104 This representation follows the rock relief from Bisitun: Speyer 2006a, 42, fig. 2, 48, fig. 3, 62, fig. 5, 63, fig. 6.

105 On this, cf. Luschey 1983.

106 Bonn 2004, 232, no. 238a.

107 Cf. a sturdy silver exemplar, belonging to satrapal art and found in Filippovka south of the Urals; Aruz et al. 2000, 88-89, no. 19. Its diagonals emphasized with gold wire incorporate the pattern of the glazed ware mentioned below, cf. n. 108.

108 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 126, nos. 130-131.

109 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 83, no. 44.

110 Speyer 2006a, 92, 94.

111 Similarly, Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 101.

112 MacAlister 1911, 296, fig. 157.4.

113 Boardman 2003, 55.

114 Hussein & Suleiman 2000, no. 74.

115 A tongue pattern forms the upper end of the couch, on which the king sits and which is carried by the peoples. The effect is as if the frame were made of fabric; Schmidt 1970, pls. 19, 22, 25, 41-43, 49, for example.

116 Schmidt 1957, pl. 72.

117 Walser 1966, pl. 67; Calmeyer 1993, pl. 47.

118 Neo-Assyrian vessels: Andrae 1923, pl. 17; Hausleiter 1999, fig. 6, 67, fig. 15.d (with a pointed base).

119 See n. 33 (Boardman 2003, 99).

120 Compare, for example, the collection in Luschey 1983, 324, fig. 4, nos. 1, 3 (Duvanli), no. 9 (Gradnitz), no. 7 (Schapladrä); Bonn 2004, 147, nos. 200-201.

121 In glyptic, the terms "Persianizing style" (Kaptan 2002, 133 pp.) and "achämenidizierend" (Nunn 2000, 82, 104, 106) are used to describe a style that is principally adopted in the western satrapies. However, numerous subdivisions have been developed, so that this model cannot be applied to other groups of objects without modification.

122 For workshops producing court-style art in the satrapies, see Rehm 2006, 507-508.

123 Bonn 2004, 195, no. 226.d; Basel 2007, 199, no. 136.d.

124 For example, Ebbinghaus 1999, 390.

125 Similarly also Oppermann 1984, 111: "Allerdings wird es sich hier nicht um direkten orientalischen Import handeln, da also bei diesem Stück Elemente griechischer Kunst erkennbar sind"; as well as Luschey 1983, 316: "Nur im gelockten Stirnhaar verrät sich ein nicht-iranisches Element".

126 On the basis of technical details, Ebbinghaus (1999, 390-391) assumes a common workshop, but for chronological reasons this does not seem plausible.

127 On the technique, see Moorey 1988; Moorey 1999, 226-228.

128 Differently, Boardman 2003, 228 with a reference to Moorey 1988, who in any case accepts the origin of objects from the Achaemenid period to be in Asia Minor (Boardman 2003, 232).

129 Cf. Muscarella 1977b, 192-194.

130 Cf. a gold amphora, found in a kurgan in Filippovka, south Ural, the authenticity of which was doubted, as it certainly appeared from the art market; Aruz et al. 2000, 92-93, no. 93.

131 So, for example, the lion rhyton found in "Hamadan"; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 121, no. 118. Calmeyer doubted the authenticity of an object with this provenance, cf. P. Calmeyer, "Hamadan", in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4, Berlin 1972-1975, 64-67.

132 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 87, no. 33; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 122, no. 119 (art market, said to be found near Erzincan).

133 Dalton 1964, 13 (no. 24), pl. X; respectively Curtis & Tallis 2005, 220-221, no. 396. The stylized ornamentation of individual elements as well as the antique nature of this horse-harness ornament or shield-boss mark it as undoubtedly Achaemenid. On the contrary, the structure of the scene, a representation of a genre, is atypical and suggests foreign – western – influence.

134 Vickers et al. 1986. Reference courtesy of J. Nieling.

135 Cf. a partially gilded silver container from the kurgan of Solocha, very clearly related to a Greek model; Berlin 2007b, 248-249.

136 Cf. n. 132.

137 Moorey (1988) sees the forerunners of the technique in Iran, but also accepts that it was then typical of workshops of the Persian Empire in Asia Minor. He places this development in connection with the "orientalizing period" (238 with a reference to Muscarella 1972; see also Muscarella 1977a). In my opinion, there should be a differentiation between individual figures in relief made of gold and gilding, and also emphasis on isolated parts with thin gold leaf and gilding (Moorey 1999, 227: probably attested since the Achaemenid period). Of course, gilding could have developed following the model of projecting reliefs, but this would be to take an original step and so be a further development. Moorey's suggestion is that during the "orientalizing period" the technique of bichrome

vessels in precious metals was brought in from the west, that means to Greece. If Moorey's suggestion is right, then this idea would have been later carried from Greece to Asia Minor, because there, during the Achaemenid period, both techniques are found: the technique using projecting reliefs in gold, which are recognizable now as outlines (Curtis & Tallis 2005, 118 no. 111), and the technique where certain parts of the relief beaten out in silver were covered with thin leaf (cf. the rhyta mentioned above and the amphorae discussed afterwards). See also gilded Phoenician bowls: Markoe 1985, 10, cat. nos. Cy1, Cy2, Cy8, Cy12, Cy15 (from Cyprus), E2, E3, E4, E6, E7, E9, E11, E13 (from Italy), U7 (unknown provenance).

138 Athenaeus (*The Learned Banqueters* 11.784) states, in his comments on Persian bowls (*batiake*), that much silverware produced in Lycia was covered with gold.

139 Boardman 1994, 184.

140 For example, Luschey 1983, 323-324 (A2), pl. 59.2; Basel 2007, 176-177, no. 124a "Werk eines achämenidischen Toreuten".

141 Note the stylized dot-and-comma pattern on the hindquarters, which is also found on the pair of bracelets from the Oxus Treasure; Curtis & Tallis 2005, 138, no. 153.

142 See n. 115.

143 Boardman 2003, 98-99, fig. 2.66. He shows that the frieze – initiated through Oriental friezes – was already a typical Greek variant after the seventh century BC.

144 The whirl occurs especially in Egypt and the ancient Near East as the stylization of a natural cowlick. On this element, see the lengthy discussion in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*: Kantor 1949; Arkell 1948; van Buren 1950; Bate 1950; Kantor 1950; Vollgraff-Roes 1953. Kantor assumes that the whirl belongs to the Achaemenid style, but as proof can only identify the Duvanli amphora, which appears to be purely Achaemenid; Kantor 1949, 262, 274, fig. 7.D.

145 The griffin's curl is an Aegean and Levantine element already found in the second half of the second millennium BC; Orthmann 1975, fig. 428b.

146 How close this type of object is to court-style art is visible when there is no gilding. An amphora from the Ortiz Collection is from the same workshop as the amphora from Duvanli, only the handles are ibexes instead of lion-griffins and the number of floral friezes varies; Ortiz 1996, no. 205. Also very similar are two additional amphorae, which also come from the art market and belong to the "amphora-rhyton" type, as the spout is not on the handle, but on the base of the vessel; Pfrommer 1990, pls. 41.1 ("Pommerance Collection"), 36-39, 44 (J. Paul Getty Museum).

147 On the geographical position of the workshops, most of which were in the vicinity of the Hellespont, cf. Summerer 2006, 139, n. 43. See also Pfrommer (1990, 193, 195, 205), who also suggests that this type of amphora came from workshops in Asia Minor.

148 Aruz et al. 2000, no. 94.

149 Aruz et al. 2000, no. 93.

150 Gamaschidze et al. 2001, 429, no. 420.

151 Rehm 1992, 25.

152 Miron & Orthmann 1995, 139, fig. 134, 150, fig. 149 and very good photographs; Soltes 1999, 161-162, no. 45, 178-179, no. 70.

153 Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 121 (F2c18).

154 Cf. Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 121 (F2c14 from Sardis) and 125 (F3c17 from Prokhorovka, south Ural).

155 Tallgren 1930, 116-118; Boardman 2003, 229, fig. 5.73.b.

156 Miller 1998, 43, fig. 11.

157 Schmidt 1957, pls. 53.2, 54.2.

158 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 113-114, nos. 99-100.

159 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 118, no. 111; Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 87 pp., nos. 33-35.

160 Cf. also a bowl on which can be seen unusual winged ibexes, which clearly do not belong to court-style art; Akurgal 1967.

161 Moorey (1988, 234) calls the figure a "hero"; likewise, Garrison & Cool Root 2001.

162 Cf., for example, the representations of Ahurmazda at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953, pls. 75-78, 79, 160, for example); in ancient Near Eastern art particularly, the ring and the staff – tools from the building trade for measuring foundation walls – are divine symbols which are transferred to a ruler only in the imagination.

163 For example, Schmidt 1953, pls. 121-123.

164 Nunn 2000, 237 with literature. Colour illustration: Curtis & Tallis 2005, 41, fig. 29.

165 Ghirshman 1964, 215 pp., figs. 263-264, 266.

166 Pfrommer (1990, 200) prefers to use the label "provincial" as typical of a peripheral region and not as an evaluation of quality. In my opinion, however, this term always has negative connotations.

167 Further subdivisions into objects that exhibit both Achaemenid and autochthonous elements and those with Achaemenid together with Greek elements/elements influenced by Greece, would be extremely difficult, since a number of questions would have to be answered. What is autochthonous and what is Greek, and at what stage can one speak of a combination of influences? In addition, this would take us away from our formulation of the problem, since it would also involve the influences of the Persian Empire on its satrapies and their neighbouring regions.

168 See n. 8.

169 Scythians adopted not only motifs but also elements of style; Francfort 2007. The applied lion-griffins made from fabric use not only the motif but also exhibit the typical stylized hindquarters in "dot and bean"; Berlin 2007, 126, fig. 10; Jettmar 1980, 109 above. See also Aruz et al. 2000, 164, no. 101 for the pear-apple-element.

170 Cf. the sphinx rhyton from the treasure found in Borovo (Bonn 2004, 196, no. 226b). Although winged, beardless – not necessarily female! – sphinxes are known from the ancient Near Eastern and Achaemenid repertoires of motifs (Garrison & Cool Root 2001, 149-152, cat. nos. 73-75), no rhyton has a sphinx protome. Against a possible difficulty in respect of finds is the fact that also in Achaemenid decoration the ends of bracelets are not found in the shape of a sphinx. There is a fixed set of motifs (Rehm 1992, 47 pp.) which could be transferred to rhyta.

171 Usually, elements from enemies are only adopted when the enemy no longer poses a threat. Cf. Persian fashion in Greece: Miller 1997, 183-187, 254; Bäbler 1998, 188; Pekridou-Gorecki 1989, 119-120 (the Persian cloak, *kandys*, was only adopted by Greeks at the end of the fifth century BC). This happens most frequently; cf., for example, "Turkish fashion" in 18th century in Europe linked to the fascination of the danger of the Ottoman Empire.

172 Archibald 1998, 261.

173 Bonn 2004, 226, no. 233a.

174 The bulge is the result of the original manufacturing technique for such vessels. Both elements of the body of the vessel were joined and the join would have been concealed by the bulge.

175 The amphora from Panagyurishte is 29cm high, the amphora from Duvanli – even if produced in satrapal art, and so a piece that is extraordinarily close to court-style art, as shown above – is 27cm high.

176 Berlin 2007a, 125.

177 Occasionally in court-style art and more frequently in satrapal art the “wave” is missing; cf. Rehm 1992; Dalton 1964.

178 Hrouda 1965, psl. 9.10-12, 10.25, 10.34; Hussein & Suleiman 2000, no. 65.

179 Bracelets from Luristan: Moorey 1971, 218 pp., pls. 61-62.

180 The Greek bracelets with animal heads seem to have been inspired by the Near East. Only a few examples can be dated to 800 BC and to the mid-sixth century BC (Cumae and Rhodos), but their frequency in the fifth century BC makes influence from the east appear plausible; Deppert-Lippitz 1986, 154-156.

181 Cf. the wild boar as a motif in Persian jewellery; Rehm 1992, 122, esp. 190 pp. Wild boar, as powerful and dangerous animals, fit the set of motifs that can be determined for decoration.

182 Curtis & Tallis 2005, 175, no. 268; de Morgan 1905, pl. V.1-2, fig. 76.

183 Bonn 2004, 195, nos. 226.c, 226.d; Basel 2007, 196, no. 136.b, 198, no. 136.c. For the horse rhyton, an object which is now in the Miho Museum, Japan, and must have come from Bactria, cf. Miho 2002, 108-109, 244-245, no. 116. Everything is in favour of its having been produced in the same workshop. Such discoveries in widely separated sites are not surprising in the Achaemenid Empire, see n. 133.

184 Bonn 2004, 157, no. 211.b; Basel 2007, 179, no. 125.b.

185 Bonn 2004, 199, no. 230, 205, fig. 2.

186 Bonn 2004, 143, no. 192.

187 Bonn 2004, 200, no. 231.c-e.

188 Miron & Orthmann 1995, 170, fig. 174.

189 40cm high, 25cm and 70cm wide; cf. Knauf 2006, 93.

190 In respect of the furnishing for satrapal residences, Jacobs (2002, 386, 390) argues against influence (relating to content) from the Achaemenids in the provinces and traces the arrangement back to local desires.

191 That is, the material in Egypt; Rehm 2006.

192 The finds in the kurgans in the region round Orenburg: Aruz et al. 2000, nos. 93-94. This region is very remote from the borders of the Persian Empire, but the objects are very much like court-style art and must be considered as satrapal art. These objects raise particularly urgently the question of workshops.

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# Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia: Rupestral Tombs in the Amnias Valley

*Lâtife Summerer & Alexander von Kienlin*

## *Introduction<sup>1</sup>*

Paphlagonia is a mountainous region in North Anatolia situated between the Pontic Alps in the North and the Anatolian plateau in the South. According to Strabo (12, 3, 9) the river Parthenius formed the western limit of the region, and it was bounded on the east by the Halys River (Fig. 1). Unlike some other regions of Anatolia, Paphlagonia is not geographically unified and its boundaries and ethnic demography are difficult to track. It was inhabited by people speaking a language that – except for a few personal names and toponyms – is entirely unknown to us<sup>2</sup>.

The origins of the Paphlagonians are unclear. According to Josephus (Ant I, 122-129), they were the descendants of Riphath, second son of Gomer (Genesis 10, 3). Culturally, they were similar to their neighbors the Kappadokians, although Strabo (12, 3, 89) noted linguistic differences. Equally obscure is the relation between the Paphlagonians and the Eneti or Heneti (mentioned in connexion with them in the Homeric catalogue) who were supposed in antiquity to be the ancestors of the Veneti, who dwelt at the head of the Adriatic<sup>3</sup>.

Paphlagonians were mentioned by Herodotus among the peoples conquered by Croesus (1. 28), and they sent an important contingent to the army of Xerxes in 480 BC (7, 72). Xenophon (Anab. 6, 1,1) speaks of them as being governed by a dynast-king of their own. As Pierre Briant concludes, “Paphlagonia must have been split among several rival chieftains”<sup>4</sup>. We know the names of some rulers such as Pylaimenes, Morzios, Thuys and Otys<sup>5</sup>. However, little is known about the organization, boundaries and administration of these chiefdoms. The few contemporary literary references to Achaemenid Paphlagonia, such as Xenophon, and later Strabo, allude to the chiefdoms in the mountainous valleys between the Greek coast and the Achaemenid interior<sup>6</sup>.

It is possible that initially the chiefdoms may not have had concretely delimited territories, and that borders and definitions changed under Achaemenid rule. Levels of Persian control may also have varied between the individual chiefdoms. However, exactly how Paphlagonian leaders were connected to the Achaemenid administration is difficult to determine from the scarce textual

sources<sup>7</sup>. We do know of marriage alliances between the Achaemenid and Paphlagonian elites<sup>8</sup>.

Settlements in inner Paphlagonia located on and around rocky outcrops and rock plateaux probably served as fortified residences for local chiefs and villages<sup>9</sup>. The first urban centres in the region were founded by Pompey the Great in 64 BC after his victory over Mithradates VI. The biggest of these cities in the new Roman province of *Pontus et Bithynia* was Pompeiopolis, which is situated on the river Amnias, today's Gökirmak<sup>10</sup>.

The river Amnias, a tributary of the Halys, flows eastward along the southern slopes of the Pontic Mountains through a long broad valley (Fig. 1). Several rock-cut tombs that were carved into the sides of cliffs lining the Amnias valley were discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and published in 1966 in a detailed study by Hubertus von Gall<sup>11</sup>. They have since received little scholarly attention despite the fact that they provide important insights into the material culture of Paphlagonia and into the impact of foreign cultures both Achaemenid and Greek- upon Paphlagonia<sup>12</sup>.

Among the tombs studied by von Gall there are several tombs carved into the rocks in the immediate vicinity of Pompeiopolis. They usually have no relief decorations on their facades or the poor preservation and rude style hardly allow for anything to be said about their date and original display context<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, the present paper will be limited to three well-preserved tombs at Donalar, Salarköy and Terelik with monumental relief sculptures. All of them are located in cliffs lining the Amnias Valley.

The three rupestral tombs do not stand alone. They each form part of a complex assemblage that includes rupestral tombs, stepped tunnels, forts on bedrock outcrops that command the surrounding landscape, and perhaps a settlement below the outcrop<sup>14</sup>. The distribution and the associated structures suggest that the rock-cut tombs may have marked the strongholds of local chiefs, controlling the west-east route. Although there is no evidence for a precise chronology of the sites, it is tempting to suppose that they were the strongholds of the tomb owners<sup>15</sup>.

The main concern of this paper is to explore the relations of the Greek, Persian and local elements making up both the architectural features and the images carved into the tomb façades. Particularly it will be asked: what do these rupestral tomb façades reveal about the priorities and visual culture of Paphlagonians under Persian domination? By highlighting significant aspects of these three tombs, notably architectural and iconographic features, the paper will identify the local pattern of funerary architecture and the artistic environment of Achaemenid Paphlagonia.

#### *Architectural Treatment of the Rock Facades*

The first tomb, Donalar, also called Kalekapi in common parlance, is located 10 km away from Pompeiopolis, near the Karadere River which is an arbi-



Fig. 1 Map (after Debord 1999, 111 Carte 3)

trary of Amnias (fig. 1)<sup>16</sup>. The façade cut from the rock is 10 meters above the ground (fig. 2.3). The central part of the façade is a small portico with two columns from the rear wall of the portico two small tomb chambers can be entered through low doors on different levels; the chambers might derive from different phases of use. The two chambers are connected by a narrow door. The size and shape of the chambers differ: The one on the left side is regularly cut and more spacious. The other is smaller and irregular. Both chambers have barrel-vaulted ceilings with the stone surface trimmed to form a smooth curve<sup>17</sup>. Inside the larger chamber, there is a roughly carved bench and a more elaborate *kline* with decorated legs, presumably imitating wood-turning. The chamber on the right side contains only a very roughly carved bench. This, together with its irregular shape, indicates that the chamber remained unfinished<sup>18</sup>.

The second tomb is located at Salarköy, some 30 km eastwards from Doñalar on the eastern bank of the river Amnias (fig. 1)<sup>19</sup>. It is as large as the Doñalar tomb, but more elaborate with a real gable, deeply carved pediment, three columns and faux relief rafters and other architectural details (fig. 7.8). The ceiling of the porch was decorated with carved beams imitating a timbered ceiling (fig. 11). The floor of the porch was paved with a black and white pebble mosaic and there are traces of gray and red plaster at the back wall of the porch<sup>20</sup>. The spacious chamber including two stone carved couches



Fig. 2 Tomb Donalar, general view (photo Roy Hessing)



Fig. 3 Tomb Donalar detail (Foto Alexander von Kienlin)



Fig. 4 Tomb Donalar (drawing Ingrid Dinkel)



Fig. 5 Tomb Donalar detail (photo Roy Hessing)

exhibits a wheel-shaped ceiling with eight spikes and a central hub (fig. 9). As was the case in Donalar, on the cliff next to the Salarköy Tomb there are a rock-cut stepped tunnel and other cuttings in the rock as well as huge stone blocks down below indicating a monumental fortification. Additionally, there was a second tomb chamber to the Northeast which has almost entirely collapsed<sup>21</sup>.

The third tomb is located at Terelik where the Amnias flows into the river Halys (fig. 1)<sup>22</sup>. It is cut into a steep rocky cliff high above the river valley. On the sloping ground at the top of the cliff above it, there are remains of a fortified settlement. The façade of the tomb is more modest in proportion to the worked area of the Salarköy tomb (fig. 12.13). It is embellished with a carved triple fascia only on the two sides. The three columns of the porch arise from the reversed *echinus*-like bases. A door placed on the right side leads to an irregular chamber with a stone-cut bench. A small window is placed left of the door. Unlike the tombs at Donalar and Salarköy, the Terelik Tomb lacks a gable.

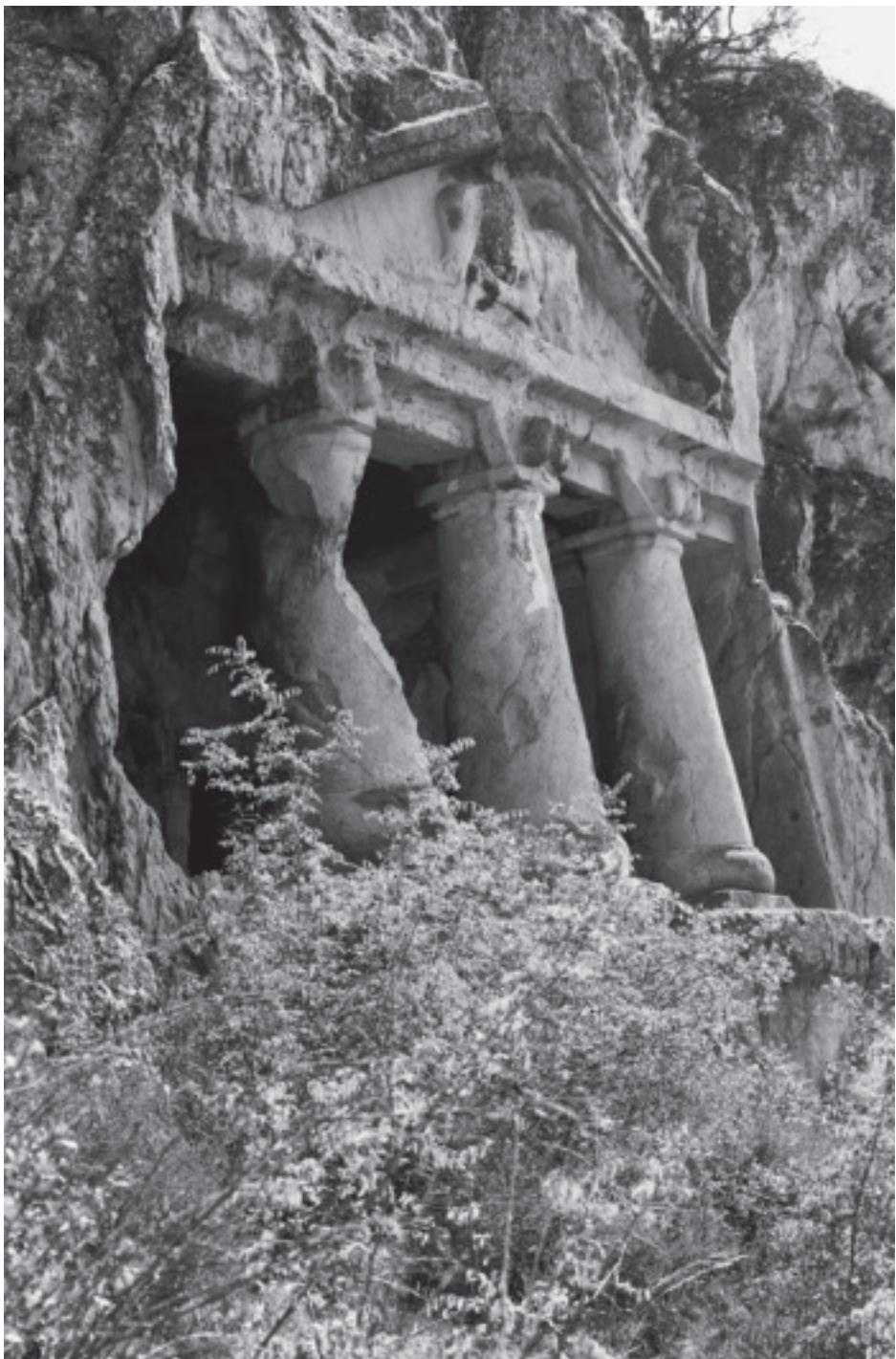
The common characteristic of all three tombs is the unusual shape of the columns. Their number, varying between two and three, indicates their significance. The squat columns arising from the *torus*-like bases with square shaped plinths taper upwards. The shape of *tori* varies from being undercut (fig. 6 Donalar, fig. 12 Terelik) to a rounded, nearly belly-like cross section (fig. 11 Salarköy). At Salarköy and Terelik a fine ring (fig. 10.12), which is



Fig. 6 Tomb Donalar detail (photo Roy Hessing)

reminiscent of the Ionic *apophyge*, separates the column shaft from the torus, a feature which is missing at Donalar (fig. 6). The squat proportion of the column shaft, however, is common to all three. At Donalar and Salarköy the columns are crowned by a narrow but bulging *echinoid* element and square *abacus*. Above, the column capitals at both tombs are carved as crouching bulls. The bulls of the Salarköy capitals are winged (fig. 10).

The columns of the tomb at Terelik are designed differently (fig. 12). They are only crowned by flat *abaci* and lack capitals carrying the architrave. On the architrave above the left column is roughly carved a protome-like figure, which has been identified as "an idol of a goddess, probably Cybele" by both Richard Leonhard and Hubertus von Gall (fig. 13)<sup>23</sup>. Von Gall's reconstruction of the figure, however, appears unproportional and therefore is not convincing. Despite its rough relief style and ill state of preservation, it is possible instead to recognise a crouching figure, and indeed, on the analogy of the two other tombs, one might identify a crouching bull there. However, the clearly differentiated head of the figure is human. It perhaps relates to a bull-man-capital, well known from Persepolis<sup>24</sup>. The horizontally extended parts, identified by von Gall as the outstretched arms of the goddess, rather represent the wings of the bull similar to those at the Salarköy tomb. The rectilinear cuttings above the other two columns indicate that there, too, bull-man capital-like protomes were inserted (visible on fig. 12); such bull-man protome inserts apparently have collapsed.



*Fig. 7 Tomb Salarköy general view (photo Alexander von Kienlin)*



Fig. 8 Tomb Salarköy (drawing after von Gall 1966, 57 fig. 3)

We can deduce therefore that above the coloums in the place of capitals of all three tombs had the bull or bull-man capitals known from Achaemenid architecture<sup>25</sup>. However, they differ from their Achaemenid prototype in orientation, tectonics and iconography. The massive bull capitals from Darius' Palace in Susa are composed of two bull foreparts projecting right and left to support the ceiling beam on their backs<sup>26</sup>. They support the cross timbres at right angles over their heads. The rock-cut façade of the royal tombs in Naqsh-i-Rustam exhibits the same disposition (fig. 14)<sup>27</sup>.

This significant difference can be partly explained by the ignorance of craftsmen of the weight-bearing function of bull-protome capitals in real Achaemenid architecture. Probably, they knew only very generally of bull crowned columns as typical elements of Persian architecture. Metal work, namely rhyta with bull foreparts, might have served as more immediate models. An example of such a rhyton, said to have been found at Sinope, is preserved at the National Museum in Copenhagen (fig. 15)<sup>28</sup>. However, the peculiar composition of the Paphlagonian columns and "architrave" may also be explained as an attempt to combine Greek architectural features with Achaemenid bull capitals.

Such an attempt at combination is better recognisable at the poorly preserved tomb at Aygır located just a few kilometres away from Donalar, in the

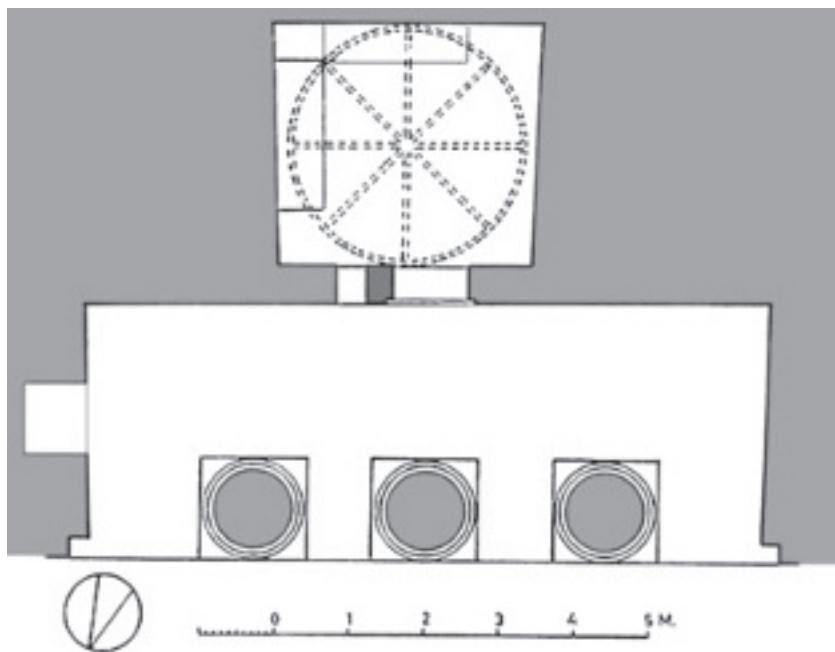


Fig. 9 Tomb Salarköy (drawing after von Gall 1966, 58 fig. 4)



Fig. 10 Tomb Salarköy detail (photo Alexander von Kienlin)



Fig. 11 Tomb Salarköy detail (photo Alexander von Kienlin)

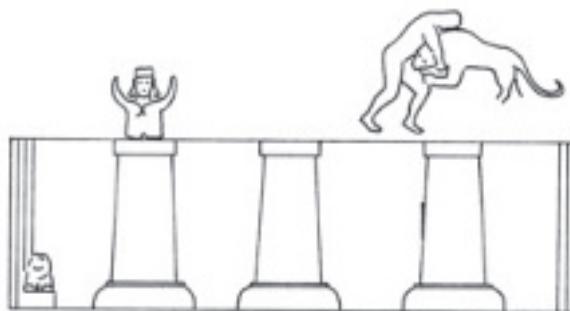
immediate vicinity of Pompeiopolis. In 1960 when von Gall visited the region, the tomb had already largely collapsed but a column was still visible. The façade is almost completely lost today. Judging by the photos taken before 1960, the tomb featured a porch with a triple fascia and two columns. Its preserved capital comprised two different elements<sup>29</sup>: At the inner side double spirals with scroll-shaped volutes similar to capitals of the Ionic order, but more prominently on the outer side bull foreparts.

On the Paphlagonian tombs, the *echinus*-like capitals point to the influence of the Greek Doric style. On the other hand, the combination of such capitals with a *torus* base and the squat column shafts suggests an hybrid architecture composed of local and foreign elements. The shape of the *torus* bases with square plinths and belly-liked cross sections was apparently developed in the Late Hittite period in Northern Syria and Anatolia, as they are attested in Nurkanlı and Zincirli<sup>30</sup>. Comparable bases with higher proportioned *tori* which have close *comparanda* in Cerablus were found scattered in Paphlagonia<sup>31</sup>. The *torus* bases were in use until the Hellenistic Period in Anatolia<sup>32</sup>. The Late Hittite bases from Cerablus are similar to the Paphlagonian ones in terms of their shape and size, but are usually carved with floral elements. The Paphlagonian bases may have been decorated by painting. A *torus* base of huge size, 1 meter high, on a plinth of 1.70 m was found in the immediate vicinity of Pompeiopolis. On its upper surface there is a square flat depression with a round bolt hole in its center (fig. 16.17)<sup>33</sup>. This device suggests that



Fig. 12 Tomb Terelik general view (photo Alexander von Kienlin)

Fig. 13 Tomb Terelik (drawing after von Gall 1966, fig. 11a)



the base supported a wooden column. The squat proportions of the smooth column shaft have no parallels in Greek or Achaemenid architecture. The feature may have derived from wood columns in the local wooden building tradition.

The triple fascia framing the colonnaded porches is a particularity of the Paphlagonian tombs. At Terelik the triple fascia appears only at the sides (fig. 12.13). In Greek architecture by contrast<sup>34</sup>, one would expect two antae at the sides, which might also be defined as engaged pillars which supports the architrave. The framing triple fascia deliberate evocation of Greek window frames, tying perhaps into the location high up on the rock, that was possibly not in use in combination with columns in real architecture.

At Terelik and Donalar the framing fascia marks the end of actual architectural construction but at Salarköy a vast deep-cut gable tops the facade. At Donalar a gable was suggested by the cutting of simple cavetto with no real sense of architecture (fig. 3). Remarkably, at the tomb Terelik a gable is entirely omitted (fig. 12). A gable apparently did not belong within the main repertoire of the Paphlagonian rock cut tombs. Rather it may have been used as an architectural element to evoke a sense of Greekness. It appears on only a few Paphlagonian tombs, usually in combination with a pediment pillar and a central akroterion<sup>35</sup>.

All three tombs share common features, like having porches and the treatment of the ceilings suggest wooden architecture: The ceilings of the *portici* usually show detailed renderings of timber panelling constructions, which must have existed in real contemporaneous buildings.

A special aspect of the Paphlagonian ceilings is that instead of single timbers always a pair of timbers is featured, as to be seen at the tombs at Salarköy (fig. 7.8), Kastamonu<sup>36</sup> and Aşağı Güneyköy<sup>37</sup>. In the interstices of the beams we find elongated coffer-like elements, which seem to render a ceiling construction with battens and sheathings<sup>38</sup>. The interstices between the final roof covering and sheathing must have been filled with some isolating material like bundles of straw. At Salarköy a timber panelled ceiling of the porch appears immediately behind the gabled facade. The gabled façade and the low pitched ceiling of the porticus have, however, different inclinations. Therefore

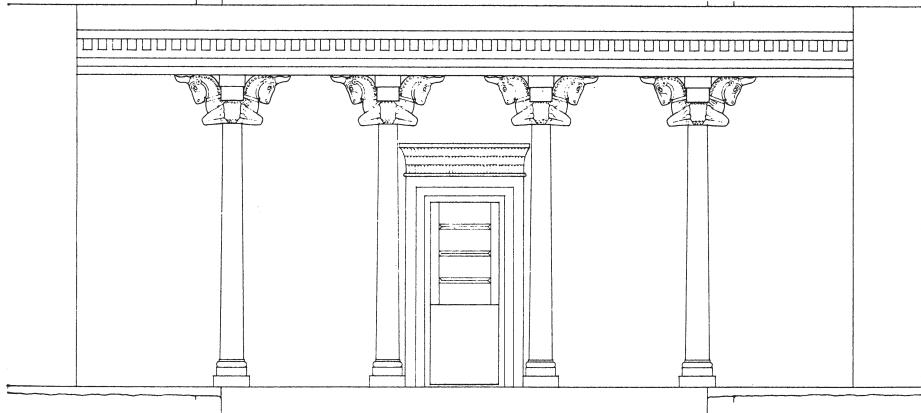


Fig. 14 Achaemenid Tomb Naqsh-i Rustam (Drawing after Boardman 2000, fig. 2.48)

an evoked architectural relationship between them seems to be unlikely<sup>39</sup>. The main elements of the roof construction consist of double battens and a stout ridge beam. They lay between the gable and the short rear wall while a representation of rafters is omitted. This particularity can be also observed at other tombs of Paphlagonia. Another rock-cut tomb at Sakkale in Cappadocia, which typologically derives from the Paphlagonian tombs, shows an interesting variation<sup>40</sup>: Two huge angular principal purlins linked with rafters support the coffers. The primary purlin rests on the middle column of the façade. This may render the beams of roofing, as the multiple fascia of the upper and lateral edges of the façade does refer to the woodwork of the facade. At Sakkale the elongated coffers are supported by the framing battens which are connected with rafters and principal purlins, as was the case at the Paphlagonian tombs.

While at most of the tombs the construction of the roofs is not legible, a few rock façades clearly show the woodwork of the gable. From such detailed roof renderings we can conclude that the gabled ceilings of the porches and gabled roofs above the porch are not coherent. The tomb at Gerdek Boğazı near Karakoyunlu yields the most impressive reference to regional wood architecture, even though the rendering is very simple. On the top of the slender columns, which are indeed unusual for the Paphlagonian tombs, with archaizing palmetto capitals there is an *epistyle* with two separated parts which consist of timbers in varying height. It supports a pediment pillar with a capital and two rafters. A triple fascia frames the whole façade excluding only the akroteria at the *attica*. In all the construction does not appear to be veristic. It is rather strongly abstracted which can be seen more clearly at the tomb at Iskilip, especially in the design of the tomb chamber<sup>41</sup>. Inside of the tomb chamber on the top of angular beams of the wall there is a moulded pediment pillar which supports the principal purlin. Unlike the Etruscan



Fig. 15 Silver Bull Protome (Photo National Museum of Copenhagen)

tombs the purlin itself is not shown, but cut on the level of the wall. Two rafters lying on the purlin are shown, but the roof itself is not rendered. A beam from the lateral wall connects the lower ends of the rafters which have the same cross section. This could be interpreted as a foot purlin, though in this case it should be placed in a lower position. If we take the tomb facade as an authentic rendering of an actual woodwork tradition, as the rich details and quality of the reliefs would suggest, then the rafters and wall beams must have been jointed or strengthened with foot purlins; otherwise they would not be displayed in the same level. Joineries and strengthenings at that position suggest that a fixed, strong and pressure-tight joinery was intended, but indeed unnecessary for a woodwork roof construction.

From an examination of all roof representations, the following conclusion for the Paphlagonian rock cut tombs can be drawn: An entire cross section of the construction is shown on the front wall. It consists of a wall and an anchor, a pediment pillar with principal purlin as well as two rafters of a pitched roof. In addition, there is a wall beam in the function of a plate, which is connected with rafters. Rafters at the level of the lower positioned wall beams of the front wall should be considered as anchoring rafters embracing the whole construction.

The interiors of the tombs are rendered detailed and in their précise construction; thus they most probably refer to immediate prototypes in regional house building. In contrast, the rock facades appear as a construction com-



Fig. 16 Torus Base in Taşköprü (Photo Roy Hessing)

posed from isolated single elements without any precise reference to real architecture. The interiors und facades of the tombs are by no means phased with each other. This lack of reference rather leads to the following interpretation: the tomb building tradition emphasized the outer facade as a bearer of imaging while the interiors were considered as “living rooms” of the deceased. The fact that all decorative elements including bull capitals are applied only on the façade, i.e. directed to viewers, supports this conclusion.

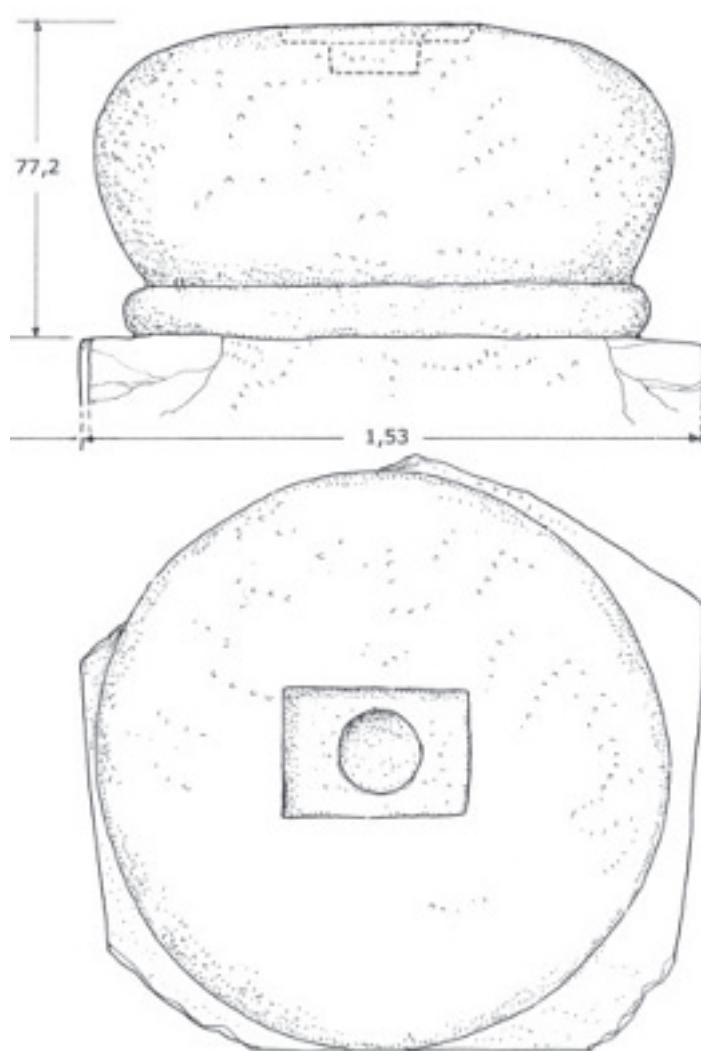
#### *The Sculptural Iconography*

In general, the façade decoration of these three tombs differs from the other rock cut tombs in Paphlagonia. They show a number of carved figures, mostly consisting of paired heraldic animal emblems and a wrestling group.

Donalar has the most lavishly decorated façade in the Amnias Valley (fig. 3.4). Its gable as well as both flanks of the porch are decorated with monumental relief sculptures. The programme of the reliefs consists mostly of animals, ten figures being shown in total. The asymmetrical composition and smoothed surface in the lower part of the façade suggest that further figures were planned, but were, however, not executed for unknown reasons.

At the apex of the pediment we see a huge eagle with extended wings. Beneath it, there is a representation of a pair of confronting felines. Their frontal faces indicate that they represent panthers rather than lions. Feline

Fig. 17 Torus  
Base in Taşköprü  
(Drawing Alexander  
von Kienlin)



imagery was generally popular in funerary art<sup>42</sup>. Crouching or heraldic felines usually occur on the lintel or pediment of Anatolian grave monuments; the composition of the Donalar Tomb finds its parallel on Phrygian rock-cut graves<sup>43</sup>. Feline sculptures are not surprising on tombs in Anatolia, and they could certainly play a role on the tomb as portal guardians, since they face the viewer<sup>44</sup>.

Two huge rampant creatures, so-called lion-griffins, flanking the architectural frame, are shown in profile and with forelegs extending upwards (fig. 3.4). Such horned and winged lion creatures are common in Achaemenid art<sup>45</sup>. However, the Persian lion-griffons have hind legs with bird's feet as well as scorpion's tails<sup>46</sup>. The motif of the lion-griffin was adopted by Greek

art with an entire lion's body as shown in the figures of Donalar<sup>47</sup>. Yet, the stylization of their bodies and the frontal depiction of their horns correspond to Achaemenid prototypes<sup>48</sup>.

In comparison to parallels in metal work, for example the amphora-rhyton from Duvanli with a pair of lion-griffins forming handles<sup>49</sup>, the lion-griffins of the Donalar tomb appear as over-sized translations from smaller media and Hubertus von Gall has therefore suggested that the ornamental style alludes to the decoration of a special metalware gift to the tomb owner.<sup>50</sup>

A bull relief is situated beneath the lion-griffin on the left lateral on an irregular cut panel, which probably remained unfinished (fig. 3.4)<sup>51</sup>. The depiction of its forelegs and its head slanting forwards suggests an aggressive bull. This motif is very widespread in Greek art. The type of the Donalar-bull with the head shown in third-quarter view has close parallels in funeral sculptures from Attica<sup>52</sup>. A lion figure is placed in a regular panel cut on the right and confronts the bull (fig. 4.5). This positioning is surely not accidental, since lions confronted with bulls occur very often in Greek art. Indeed, lions and bulls are typical beasts in Greek funeral iconography<sup>53</sup>. Beneath the lion there is a one-horned animal, a "bull" depicted in profile with a pointed long horn on its nose (fig. 4.5). According to von Gall this is a unique representation of a unicorn so far unparalleled in ancient art<sup>54</sup>. Though he seems to have missed the representations of unicorn is common in ancient Indian literature, art and also known in Early Iranian culture<sup>55</sup>. The idea of unicorn was possibly passed from India to the West through Persians, since the earliest description of a unicorn first appears in Greek litterature in the works of Ctesias<sup>56</sup> who was a Royal physician at the court of the Persian King Artaxerxes<sup>57</sup>.

The Salarköy tomb is more modest in terms of its figural decoration. The five animal figures, which show much more plasticity than the reliefs of the Donalar tomb, are placed above the roof-line. Just as at Donalar, an eagle with extended wings was positioned on the roof ridge. The eagle is flanked by two antithetic lions rampant along the roof pitches. Additionally, a pair of lion figures facing the viewer is placed at both outer corners of the roof. Some akroteria collapsed long ago, scattering large blocks over the ground in front of the façade.

In comparison to the two other tombs at Donalar and Salarköy, the scarcity of felines in Terelik is striking. One frontal crouching lion figure is placed below, at the level of the column bases by the triple fascia<sup>58</sup> which apparently derives from an oriental tradition<sup>59</sup>.

The most striking coincidence in the imagery of all the three tombs is the wrestling group carved in the gable (fig. 3.7.12). Although the representations do not match exactly, they correspond to the Greek iconography of "Herakles wrestling with the lion". At the Donalar Tomb, since some parts of the sculpture are extensively damaged, the details of the representation are difficult to recognize so that they have been misinterpreted. Richard Leonard published a sketch which shows two animals in combat<sup>60</sup>. Thereafter, Hubertus von Gall

corrected this sketch, somehow identifying the scene as two felines fighting over their prey<sup>61</sup>. A close examination of the depiction shows, however, that the figure on the left is not an animal, but rather a human figure wrestling with a feline (fig. 3.4)<sup>62</sup>.

The schema of this representation surely originated in Greek art, and is known especially on archaic vases and reliefs showing Herakles wrestling with the lion on the ground crouching or kneeling on one knee<sup>63</sup>. Herakles' first labour, the Nemean Lion, was very popular and depicted in multiple variations. The schema "wrestling on the ground" first appears in Attic vase painting of the archaic period and was in use in many variations through the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>64</sup>. However, the gable group of the Donalar tomb differs in some details from its Greek prototype.

At the Donalar tomb Herakles is kneeling on his left knee. His outstretched right leg extends beyond the left corner of the *epistyle*. He is pressing both feet against the ground in his struggle to strangle the lion. The characteristic motifs of the Attic scheme, in which Herakles seizes the left hind paw of the lion with his right hand or the lion strikes the head of Herakles with its left hind paw<sup>65</sup>, do not appear at Donalar.

Another notable detail is the clothing around the waist of Herakles which is clearly visible despite the eroded surface of the relief (fig. 3.4). This iconographic difference provides an insight into how the figure of Herakles, usually occurs nude in Greek art, was adapted<sup>66</sup>.

At the Salarköy tomb the wrestler group also appears in the pediment. The sculpture is carved in higher relief. Despite its largely eroded surface, the wrestling group is arguably similar to the one at the Donalar-Tomb, yet some details differ. Unlike the representation of the Donalar tomb, the Salarköy-Tomb shows a wrestling group in more or less upright position. Herakles bends over the lion and holds its neck, while the lion turns its head and scratches the right leg of Herakles with its left forepaw. This is a variant of the "standing fight" of Herakles which first appeared on the Attic vases of the Classical period<sup>67</sup>.

Although a gabled roof was omitted at Terelik (fig. 11.12), the same figures were carved on the rock surface above the right-side column. The group once again represents Herakles wrestling the lion just like the Donalar and Salarköy tombs. However, this time another variation of the "standing fight" is shown. Herakles stands in a nearly upright position, lifting the lion from the above into the air, and pressing its neck against his chest. The lion appears inanimate as if it were an animal skin. This schema appears in Greek art in the Late Classical Period as well as on the coins of the type "Persian Royal Archer" in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but its derivations were also employed on Roman Sarcophagi<sup>68</sup>.

In summary, the tombs examined in the present article carry architectural elements of both Greek and Achaemenid origin. Interestingly, the sculpture of the tombs parallel the architecture showing motives and ideas adopted from both Persian and Greek spheres in their programmes.



Fig. 18 Relief Base from Afirözü (Photo Alexander von Kienlin)

### *Chronology of the Tombs*

Pascale Fourcade, who first discovered the Donalar tomb, suggested a date in the Augustan period because of its vicinity to the Roman town Pompeiopolis<sup>69</sup>. Unaware of this, Richard Leonhard dated the tomb very early, about 700 BC, and the reliefs he dated later, to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>70</sup>. Ekrem Akurgal placed the tomb at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century without any discussion<sup>71</sup>. Hubertus von Gall proposes a more precise date in the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. In presenting a very detailed study of the style of reliefs, he notes, however, that they could date to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. He places the tomb at the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, assuming it was erected for the Paphlagonian chief Korylas mentioned by Xenophon<sup>72</sup>.

For the three tombs presented here von Gall draws the following chronological sequence: He considers the tomb at Terelik to have been the earliest, dating it in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>73</sup>. He places the Salarköy Tomb in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, as the latest of the three tombs<sup>74</sup>. According to this chronological understanding the tombs are distributed over a period of about hundred years: first Terelik, then Donalar and finally Salaköy.

Von Gall's dating cannot be discussed in detail in this paper, but a provisional sketch of the framework is inserted. The coincidence with Korylas for the Donalar tomb is arbitrary and the time spread unnecessary, but despite

some archaic motifs the three tombs may be placed roughly placed in the period between 425 and 375 BC. At the Donalar-Tomb there is a clear difference between upper and lower reliefs. In strong contrast with the finer, delicate carving of the lion figure with incised interior details, the unicorn below is rendered only in its outlines (fig. 5). Just how much later these lower reliefs could date remains open to question. One possible explanation is that they were added by the next generation in the context of reuse. The reliefs may even be more or less contemporary since the decoration of the façade seems to have been never finished.

The pediment group at Donalar is more diagnostic for dating since it resembles the schema of "Herakles wrestling the lion" of late archaic and early classical Attic vases. The foot of the outstretched right leg of Herakles in three-quarter view indicates a later date, though not necessarily as late as 400 BC.

The tomb at Salarköy employs a variant of the "standing lion fight of Herakles." A later date might be indicated by its more sculptural style (fig. 10). At Terelik the crudeness of the carving provides no indications of chronology, but its relief group belongs to a type which is usually considered to come late in the series of "Herakles wrestling the lion standing" (fig. 12).

In summary: the rupestral tombs, which were decorated with colonnaded porches and monumental reliefs, appear to have been set up starting in the last quarter of the fifth century.

Donalar seems to be the earliest of the three tombs, followed by Salarköy and Terelik. They may well have been erected within a short span of time since direct competition between the tombs is clear.

This period corresponds with the rise of the mighty Paphlagonian chiefs, of whom we are aware from written sources. There seems to have been re-organisation and consolidation of the region which prompted new forms of social competition, as the lavishly decorated tomb facades demonstrate.

### *Concluding Remarks*

The three massive, decorated tombs located at some distance from each other at the edges of cliffs in the Amnias Valley, provide important indications about emerging visual language and cultural identity in Achaemenid Paphlagonia. The design of the monuments is a hybrid of Greek, Achaemenid and local elements but stands independent of developments elsewhere in Anatolia.

The tombs are distinguished from the outside by their façade, with colonnaded porches and gables high above the ground, and are always embellished with carved mouldings, a triple fascia, an imitation of an architectural frame, columns with bull capitals and relief sculptures. They include monumental reliefs of attacking animals and Herakles wrestling with the lion. It is obvious that a competition is intended. The predominance of felines and other animals suggests that the creatures were broadly associated with dominant status. Besides the function of lions as apotropaic tomb guardians, the general

allusion to aggressive power and defensiveness implies guardianship.

The facades of the tombs do not reflect real buildings; rather they comprise individual elements from both the regional woodwork building tradition and foreign architecture conventions. The fact that all “foreign” elements are applied on the façade suggests that these were considered as representative. The common relief decoration of the rupestral tombs “Herakles wrestling the lion” explicitly articulates Greek cultural affiliation. The image of the Greek hero seems to have become an emblem associated with virtues of leadership suited to the priorities of the tomb owners who were possibly Paphlagonian chiefs<sup>75</sup>.

Especially the Persian aspects of the monuments make tighter affiliations to the Persian sphere. The adoption of Persian architectural features and decoration motifs supports the notion that the Achaemenid impact on Paphlagonia was significant.

Another type of grave monument, also found in the Amnias Valley near Afrözü, emphasises stronger affiliation with Persian culture, but it is not clear whether it belonged to a stele or it was part of a larger monument (fig. 18)<sup>76</sup>. A male reclining on the couch with a lotus flower and a drinking cup in his hands is shown surrounded by attendants and dining furniture. All persons are dressed in Persian fashion with tiara, leggings and jackets.

Back to rupestral monuments, on the one hand they consist of familiar elements from the local house building tradition with regard to the interior which apparently thought of as the “house of the deceased”. The small windows next to the door openings should provide a persistent view for the deceased to his own territory.

As noted previously, the Donalar tomb was the earliest of these three monuments. The tomb Donalar stood alone until the construction of Salarköy and Terelik, less than a day's journey to the east along the Amnias Valley and built in direct competition. Hence, the Donalar tomb can be seen as a symbolic landmark, erected as part of a programme of developing the iconography and identity of the Amnias-Valley.

This local competition between rival Paphlagonian chieftains might also explain the presence of Paphagonian slaves in later 5<sup>th</sup> c. Athens<sup>77</sup>. They could have been the victims of struggles between the neighbouring chiefs. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in West Africa it was a common practice that the neighbouring tribes actively aided white slavers, as a means of getting rid of enemies<sup>78</sup>.

Additionaly, according to Siegfried Lauffer the number Paphlagonian slaves that worked in the nearby Laurium silver mines is proportionally high<sup>79</sup>. This could be explained by their experience in mining in their homeland. At the juncture between Aminas and Halys, in Sandarakurgion (near todays Durağan) there were extensive mines of the mineral called by Strabo (12, 2, 40) *sandarake* (red arsenic or arsenic sulfide), where the slave workers most quickly perished. In addition, the tradition of rock cutting could have been qualified the Paphlagonians as good miners.

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## Notes

- 1 Summerer 2009: L. Summerer, "Herakles in Paphlagonien" in: H. Biehl/ A. Slawisch (Hrsg.), *Festschrift A. E. Furtwängler* (Langenweißbach 2009) 15-24.  
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2 Their language would appear, from Strabo's (12, 3, 89) testimony, to have been distinctive. Cf. Marek 1993, 14.

3 Homer, Iliad, 2.851-852; Strabo 12, 3. 8; Pliny, Natural History, 3, 130.

4 Briant 2002, 642.

5 Debord 1999, 110-115.

6 Briant 1996, 718-720; Debord 1999, 110-115; Tuplin 2004, 178; Tuplin 2007, 25.

7 Recently on this topic: Tuplin 2007, 24-28.

8 According to Xenophon (Hell. 4.1.12-15.) the Paphlagonian ruler Othys married the daughter of the disloyal Persian Spithridates. Debord 1999, 113; Briant 2002, 642; Tuplin 2007, 25.

9 Field surveys in Paphlagonia: Dengate 1978, 245-58; Özdoğan/ Marro/Tibet/ Kuzucuoglu 2000, 41-56; Matthews/ Pollard/Ramage 1998, 195-206; Matthews, Glatz 2009.

10 Marek 1993, 63-71.

11 Fourcade 1811, 39-41; Leonhard 1915, 241-287; von Gall 1966.

12 However, they are often mentioned in historical studies: Briant 1996, 718-720; Debord 1999, 83-91; Gropp 2001, 37-42.

13 Gökoğlu 1958, 58-119 lists about 100 rock tombs in Paphlagonia.

14 The walls are often evident by their imprint left in the bedrock. Leonhard 1915, 242-276; von Gall 1966, 55. During our surveys in 2008 we observed that on the top of the cliffs on the sloping ground surrounding it, there are remains of fortified settlements: rock-cut stairs, tunnels, cisterns and other imprints in rock as well as pottery and tile fragments in abundance.

15 Similar assemblage with rock cut tombs and fortification appears also in Sura in Lycia: Borchhardt 2002, 34 fig. 17.

16 This tomb was first discovered by Fourcade 1811, 30-58 and not by Leonhard 1915, as von Gall 1966, 13 suggests. Since many rock-cut tombs are called "Kalekapi" ("fortress -gate" in Turkish), the name of nearby village is used in this paper.

17 Barrel vaulted ceilings are also to be found in the Pyramid tomb in the Midas City: Haspels 1971, 112-113.

18 von Gall 1966, 15 fig. 2.

19 Leonhard 1915, 263-267; von Gall 1966, 57-65.

20 Possibly, the porch was paved and plastered during a later reuse of the tomb.

21 We observed this during our visit in 2007.

22 von Gall 1966, 82-85.

23 Leonhard 1915, 267; von Gall 1966, 84-85 fig. 11b.

24 Boardman 2000, 48 fig. 2, 27; 74 fig. 2.57.

25 von Gall 1966, 116-119.

26 Von Mercklin 1962, 27-30, fig. 82-87; Boardman 2000, fig. 2.56 a,b.

27 Schmidt 1970; von Gall 1989, 503-523. However, Seidl 2003, 67-75 has recently questioned the generally accepted reconstruction of the double protome capitals from Persepolis and argued that the bull protomes of the capitals in the Achaemenid porches were directed to the viewer. In her opinion the representation of the bull capitals on the Achaemeind Tombs in Naqsh-i-Rustam are shown from the side view according to a convention of Oriental art showing figures from profile.

28 Summerer 2003, 27 fig. 7.

29 von Gall 1966, pl. 14, 1-2. For the present conservation of the tomb see: Karasalihoglu 2008, 60 fig. 7.

30 Naumann 1971, 134-137. fig. 145. 146

31 Naumann 1971, 137, fig. 150. 151. Recently some small size sandstone torus bases were found at Kerkenes Dağ: Summers 2003, fig. 7.

32 cf. the torus base without plinth with fluted column shaft from Zincirli: Naumann 1971, fig. 149.

33 von Gall 1966, 113-116 considered this base and others as "Cippi" or "Phalloi" used as *sema* on the top of the *tumuli*.

34 for example the Royal tombs at Persepolis: von Gall 1989, 506.

35 von Gall 1966, pl. 6.7.11.15, 4.

36 von Gall 1966, 65-73.

37 von Gall 1966, 24, Abb.24.

38 See also the paneled ceiling of the Phrygian Tomb Gerdekkayasi in the province Eskisehir: Kortanlioglu 2008, pl. 2009.

39 von Gall 1966, 60-61 considers the porch as a structure completely isolated from the gable architecture. In his opinion the former was adopted from the temple architecture while the latter went back to the regional house building tradition.

40 von Gall 1966, 111-112.

41 von Gall 1966, 95

42 Vedder 1987, 115-199.

43 For example at the Phrygian rock cut tomb Yilan Taş: Haspels 1971, 129-133.

44 When Fourcade 1811, 40-41 first discovered the Donalar monument about 1800, the people from the village nearby Donalar were still afraid of the beasts depicted and deterred Fourcade from entering in it.

45 von Gall 1966, 21-29; von Gall 1999, 149-160.

46 See for example Boardman 2000, fig. 3.31.

47 von Gall 1966, 21-29; von Gall 1999, 152-153.

48 von Gall 1999, 153-155 fig. 5.

49 Boardman 2000, fig. 5. 71.

50 von Gall 1966, 25.

51 von Gall 1966, 29-33.

52 Vedder 1987, 121 fig. 80.

53 Vedder 1987, 11. 121.158-159.

54 von Gall 1966, 35-36.

55 Sharma 1957, 359-366; Ghirshman 1964, 43.

56 Ctesias (FGrHist.Nr. 88 Ktesias F459) describes a unicorn as an animal with a horn on the forehead which is colored white, red and black. Aristotle (Historia Animalium II 1, 499b 20) had also mentioned unicorn in his works as two one-horned animals – oryx, believed to be an antelope, and an Indian ass. Pliny (n.h. 8, 76)

confirms the presence of the unicorn in palaces in Persepolis giving reference to Ctesias and describes three species of unicorn: oryx, Indian ass and Indian ox.

57 Tagliatesta 2007, 177 explains the renaissance of the unicorn in the Middle Byzantine Art with the fact that Photios, the patriarch of Constantinople, collected in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD the lost books of ancient authors including the book "History of India" of Ctesias.

58 von Gall 1966, 83 Taf. 9, 4.

59 see for example the temple palace at Tell Halaf: Naumann 1971, fig. 546.

60 Leonhard 1915, pl. 25.

61 von Gall 1966, fig. 1.

62 Summerer 2009.

63 Felten 1990, 16-18; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, 69-84; Summerer 2009.

64 Felten 1990, 22-25; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, fig. 10.42.

65 Felten 1990, Nr. 1851-1881; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, fig. 10.31-10.37.

66 Summerer 2009.

67 Kaeser 2003, 81 fig. 10.36.

68 Felten 1990, Nr. 1821; 1871-1824; 1956-1961; Pracht und Prunkt der Großkönige. Das Persische Weltreich (Stuttgart 2006) 84, cat. 46; B. Kaeser in: Herakles 2003, 84-85.

69 Fourcade 1811, 39.

70 Leonhard 1915, 257. Bossert 1942, 85 and Gökoğlu 1952, 71 agree with these dates.

71 Akurgal 1961, 109.

72 von Gall 1966, 55-56.

73 von Gall 1966, 88.

74 von Gall 1966, 65.

75 Summerer 2009.

76 Onceel-Voute 1984, 101-118; Summerer 2003, 20.

77 The Paphlagonian slaves were numerous at Athens in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the Aristophanes' comedy "Knights" as a typical slave a Paphlagonian stands in for Cleon who has been terrorizing the other slaves: Lauriola 2006, 75-94.

78 Law 1991. We owe thanks Margeret Miller for this reference.

79 53 slave names are known from the silver mines of Laureion. As much as they are identifiable six of them are evidently Paphlagonians and eight are Phrygians. But their number could be even higher: Lauffer 1979, 124 pp., table 6; von Gall 1989, 508.



# 'Achaemenid' and 'Achaemenid-inspired' Goldware and Silverware, Jewellery and Arms and their Imitations to the North of the Achaemenid Empire\*

*Mikhail Treister*

## *1. Introduction*

Some recent studies devoted to the history of the Kingdom of Bosporus advance a thesis about the political independence of the early Bosporan Kingdom from the Achaemenid Empire, primarily based on the passage by Diodoros about the rule of Archaenactidae, placed in the chapter devoted to events in Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Yet it has been argued that the passage in Diodoros about the events of 438 in Cimmerian Bosporus gives no direct proof of any prior independence from the Achaemenids.<sup>2</sup> A range of material has been presented as indirect evidence for contacts between the Achaemenid Empire and the north Pontic area and the concomitant influence on the historical development of that region:<sup>3</sup> the Achaemenid seals found in Bosporus,<sup>4</sup> the impression of an Achaemenid seal on a clay weight from Olbia,<sup>5</sup> the supposed connection between the Bosporan and Persian weight systems, the parallels between some coin emblems of the Bosporus and Olbia and Achaemenid symbols,<sup>6</sup> not to mention the distribution of Iranian names in the onomasticon of Olbia and the Bosporus.<sup>7</sup>

This paper dwells on the finds of 'Achaemenid' silverware and goldware, arms and jewellery in the vast areas outside the northern frontier of the Achaemenid Empire. I will characterize the objects which may be determined as "Achaemenid" or "Achaemenid-inspired" or imitations of objects of the first two categories, and dwell on the problems of their dating and the possibility of their attribution to certain local centres within the the wider so-called "Achaemenid international style".<sup>8</sup>

## *2. Analysis of objects from the north Pontic area*

### *2.1. A rhyton from the Seven Brothers barrow no. 4*

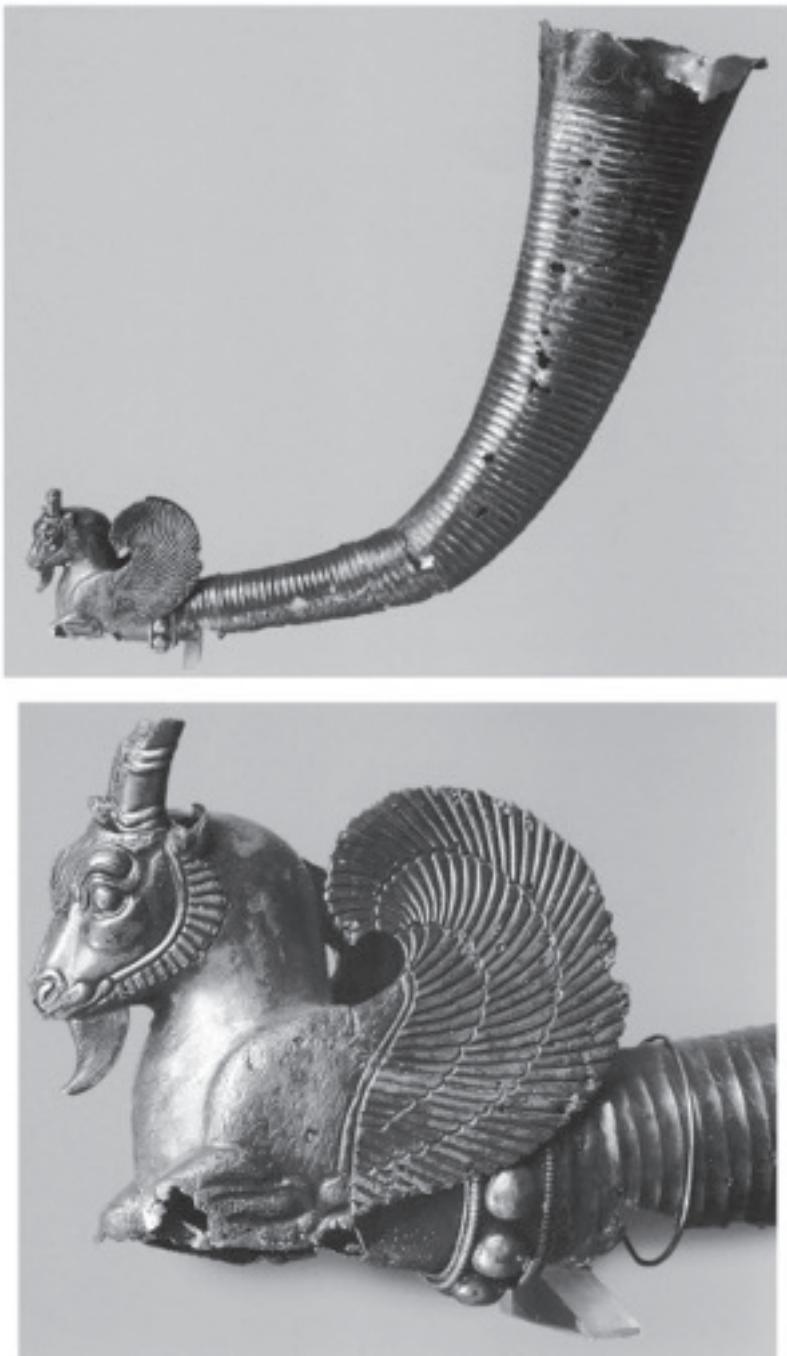
Among the five rhyta found in the Seven Brothers barrows,<sup>9</sup> from barrow no. 4 came a silver rhyton with an ibex protome with a horizontally-fluted horn and

incised decoration (Fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> The rhyton is traditionally considered to be the product of an Achaemenid workshop located in Iran and is dated to the fifth century BC. Oscar Muscarella<sup>11</sup> compares it with four other rhyta, including that with a bull protome from Borovo in Thrace,<sup>12</sup> a rhyton on the antiquities market,<sup>13</sup> that to his mind seems to be a mate to the Seven Brothers rhyton, another one without provenance in the form of the full body of a ram and a vessel terminating in the forepart of a ram, supposedly from Kappadokia, once in the Norbert Schimmel Collection and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>14</sup> Muscarella suggests that these vessels were manufactured in the same or a closely-connected workshop, although it is difficult to define a location.<sup>15</sup> Another rhyton of this group, 18.7cm high, was sold in 2001 at Sotheby's in New York.<sup>16</sup>

The protome of an ibex with outstretched front legs and with a spout for pouring wine, of unknown origin, is held in the Reza Abbasi Museum in Tehran.<sup>17</sup> Figures of ibexes were also used as vessel handles, for instance on a silver amphora with horizontal fluting from Hamadan<sup>18</sup> and in the case of the sculpted handles with lower attachments in the form of Silen masks in Berlin (allegedly from Erzincan)<sup>19</sup> and Paris.<sup>20</sup> A gold terminal of a bracelet or torque said to come from the Sardis area, once in Berlin, is also comparable in style.<sup>21</sup>

The treatment of the lotus-and-palmette chain, including the horizontal ties at the base of the palmettes as well as the use of the guilloche pattern, puts the decoration of the upper part of the horn of the Seven Brothers rhyton (Fig. 2) close to that of the silver-gilt amphora-rhyton with sculpted handles from Kukova Mogila near Duvanli in Thrace, dated to the third quarter of the fifth century BC;<sup>22</sup> the above-mentioned rhyton supposedly from Kappadokia, now in New York;<sup>23</sup> a silver rhyton in the form of the head of an ibex from Siberia, kept in the State Hermitage Museum;<sup>24</sup> as well as the skyphos from the former collection of Hagop Kevorkian, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>25</sup> The shape of the latter finds its closest parallel in the bronze vessel from tomb no. 723 in Sardis, dated to the seventh to sixth century BC,<sup>26</sup> although there are variations in the details of the treatment of the palmettes and lotus flowers and the latter are connected with arcs composed not of parallel lines but of dots. One should also mention a similar lotus-and-palmette chain on a silver flat-bottomed horizontally-fluted beaker in the British Museum,<sup>27</sup> which belongs to a class of vessels shown in the hands of the members of Delegation XII, the Ionians, on the relief of the east side of the Apadana in Persepolis,<sup>28</sup> and not only Delegation XV, allegedly the Arachosians, the latter mentioned by M. Vickers,<sup>29</sup> as well as represented by the real finds in burial no. 6/1961 in Vani<sup>30</sup> and allegedly from Erzerum.<sup>31</sup>

These ornamental friezes differ in style from the lotus-and-palmette chain without guilloche pattern decorating the lip of the gold rhyton with lion protome from Hamadan, dated to the first half of the fifth century BC,<sup>32</sup> or the frieze of palmettes and lotus flowers on the rhyton with the protome of a winged griffin from Erzincan in eastern Anatolia.<sup>33</sup> However, a similar deco-



*Fig. 1. A silver rhyton from the Seven Brothers barrow no. 4. State Hermitage, inv. SBr IV.3 (photo after Cat. St Petersburg 2004, no. 4).*

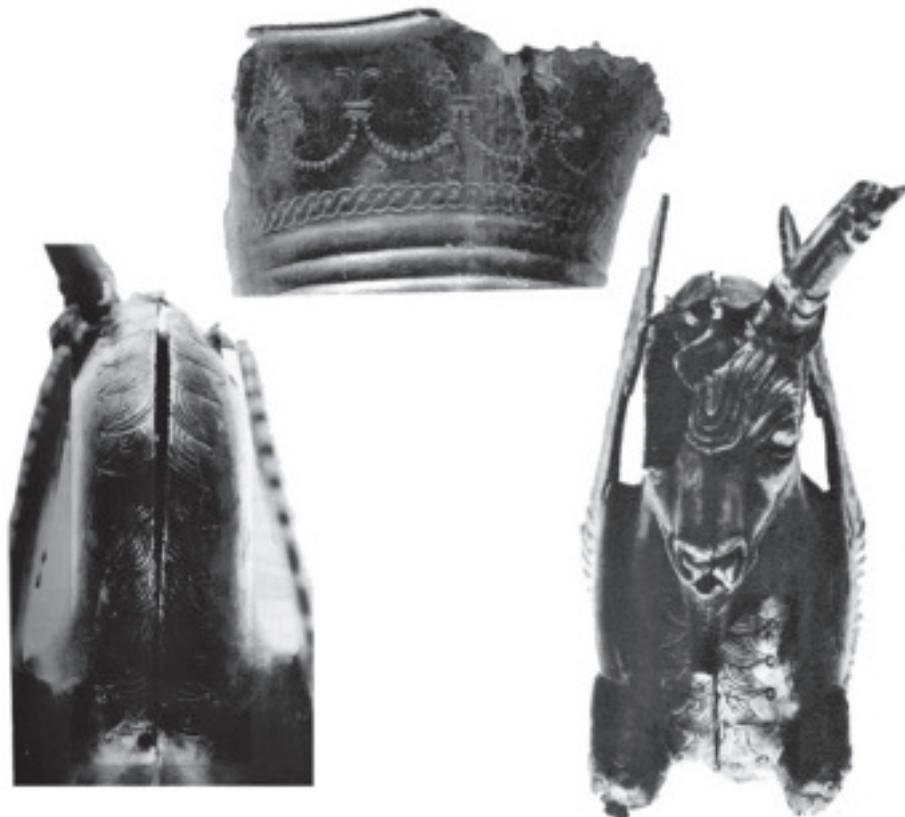


Fig. 2. A silver rhyton from the Seven Brothers barrow no. 4. State Hermitage, inv. SBr IV.3 Details (photo after Vlasova 2001a, 21, fig. 1, 23, fig. 3).

rative pattern, the lotus-and-palmette chain, occurs on a wall decoration in glazed bricks from Susa,<sup>34</sup> as well as on a silver-gilt bowl from the so-called second part of the Oxus Treasure<sup>35</sup> and some other examples without provenance, such as a silver hemispherical bowl with gold appliqués in the Miho Museum.<sup>36</sup>

The vessel from Kukova Mogila, given its characteristic shape, belongs to a class of vessels represented both by actual finds and depicted on the reliefs from Persepolis.<sup>37</sup> The amphora-rhyton from Kukova Mogila is generally recognized as being executed in a purely Achaemenid style.<sup>38</sup> Another, once in a private collection in Paris, originates supposedly from the region between Sinop and Trabzon.<sup>39</sup> A third, in the G. Ortiz Collection in Geneva comes from a treasure found in about 1970 in the area of Sinop.<sup>40</sup> It is worth noting that vessels of a similar shape are shown in the hands of the members of Delegation VI, the Lydians,<sup>41</sup> and Delegation III, the Armenians.<sup>42</sup> According to B. Filow,<sup>43</sup> the depiction of similar vessels in the hands of members of different

delegations points to the fact that they were not regional types, but rather belonged to the type adopted by the Achaemenid court, and they could have been manufactured in workshops situated on the coasts of Asia Minor.<sup>44</sup> Also, the analysis of the shape and the decoration of amphora-rhyta conducted by M. Pfrommer, gave him grounds to suggest that both the vessel from Kukova Mogila and those in the J. Paul Getty Museum were the products of a workshop in Asia Minor, probably located at the court of one of the satraps.<sup>45</sup>

If the lotus-and-palmette chain on the Seven Brothers rhyton cannot provide decisive confirmation about the place of its manufacture, the treatment of the locks of hair on the neck and manes of the ibex protome (Fig. 2) can offer assistance. Their closest parallels appear on the images of double-ibex protomes over winged sun disks on a silver phiale from Usak, eastern Lydia,<sup>46</sup> and on a similar bronze phiale from Ünye,<sup>47</sup> both now in Ankara, as well as on the figures of animals on the handles of the above-mentioned amphora-rhyta from Kukova Mogila and from the treasure found near Sinop, now in the G. Ortiz Collection.<sup>48</sup> Among the Achaemenid-style rhyta, the closest parallel is on the damaged silver rhyton with calf protome, a 1965 chance find from an early Sarmatian barrow near the village of Dolinnoe in the southern Ural area.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, it seems that we can tentatively identify the rhyton from the Seven Brothers barrow no. 4 (Figs. 1, 2) as a product of this Asia Minor workshop and suggest a date for its manufacture within the first half, most probably the second quarter, of the fifth century BC. Such a date corresponds well with the dating of the burial in the fourth barrow to ca. 450-425 BC.<sup>50</sup>

I therefore cannot agree with Muscarella that all the rhyta which he mentions as parallels to the Seven Brothers rhyton may have been manufactured in one and the same workshop. Not only does the much larger scale distinguish the Seven Brothers rhyton from the objects cited above; also, its manner of construction is idiosyncratic. A muff, decorated with filigree and large hemispherical umbos, covers the junction of terminal and horn; the technique is paralleled on no certainly Achaemenid rhyton.

## 2.2. A sword from the Chertomlyk barrow

A sword found in the Chertomlyk barrow has a hilt with gold overlay, decorated in the Achaemenid style,<sup>51</sup> which differs from the gold overlay of the scabbard,<sup>52</sup> executed in the so-called Graeco-Scythian style and probably representing either scenes of the Trojan War or an episode from the battle between Macedonians and Persians (Fig. 3).<sup>53</sup> Besides this discrepancy, it is stated that the sword has a blade untypical for Achaemenid swords: the upper part has a row of rectangular openings along the axis. E.V. Chernenko mentions that such open-worked blades are characteristic solely of swords originating from Scythian barrows of the fourth century BC.<sup>54</sup> Analysis of the decoration of the hilt of the Chertomlyk sword led A.Ju. Alekseev and E.V. Chernenko to date it to the fifth century, or even to the late sixth to early fifth century BC,

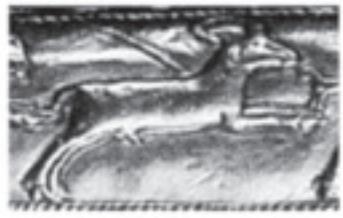
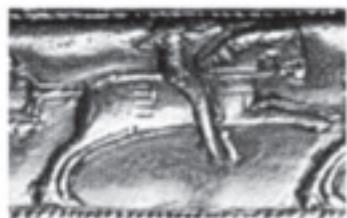


Fig. 3. A sword from the Chertomlyk barrow and the main elements of its decoration. State Hermitage, inv. Dn 1863 1/448 (photo after Cat. New York 2000, no. 163).

and to identify it as an Achaemenid product.<sup>55</sup> V.G. Lukonin dated it to the fifth century BC, suggesting that the hilt overlay was hammered by a Median toreut.<sup>56</sup> The suggestion<sup>57</sup> that an originally Achaemenid sword was reworked in Scythia in the fourth century BC is indirectly proved by the technological observations made by R.S. Minasyan. Minasyan has, however, stated that "the final proof concerning the secondary use of the sword's hilt may be reached only after study of the inner surface, up to now unavailable for examination".<sup>58</sup>

Several discrete elements of the decoration of the hilt of the Chertomlyk sword deserve fuller discussion: (1) a finial in the form of two antithetic bull heads; (2) a palmette, decorating the finial; (3) a palm-tree pattern, decorating the vertical axis of the hilt; (4) the figures of mounted archers galloping to the left and right and the ibexes wounded with arrows decorating the side friezes of the hilt.

The motif of double-animal protomes, including those of bulls, was widespread in both Achaemenid sculpture and decorative art. An important parallel with the finial of the hilt of the Chertomlyk sword is the use of a similarly shaped palmette on a double-bull column capital excavated by W.K. Loftus in 1850-1852 from the palace of Dareios at Susa.<sup>59</sup> That this motif was used for the decoration of the pommels of Achaemenid swords is testified not only by the gold dagger said to be from Hamadan decorated with double lion heads,<sup>60</sup> but also by an ivory pommel with double rams' heads in the Louvre, the provenance of which is unknown.<sup>61</sup>

The stylized palm tree, very similar to the central band, decorating the hilt, was used in the decoration of the western façade of the west staircase of the palace of Dareios (tachara) at Persepolis; the evidence of the inscription suggests that the reliefs were probably added in the reign of Artaxerxes III (359-338 BC).<sup>62</sup> It also appears on a stone relief showing a winged sphinx from Persepolis, originally set up on a façade of palace G, constructed by Artaxerxes III, and later transferred to the north staircase of palace H.<sup>63</sup>

Others have already mentioned the parallels to the representations of mounted archers and ibexes,<sup>64</sup> including that with images of riders in a hunting scene on the umbo from the Oxus Treasure, which is usually dated within the fifth to fourth centuries BC.<sup>65</sup>

On the whole, analysis of the parallels to the decorative elements does not allow a precise dating for the sword. The parallels range from the last decades of the sixth to the mid-fourth century BC. The shape of the cross-guard, characteristic of *akinakai* of the seventh to sixth and early fifth centuries,<sup>66</sup> speaks rather for an early date. At the same time, the central frieze of the hilt with the image of the palm tree finds rather similar parallels on the reliefs from Persepolis dating to the rule of Artaxerxes III, i.e. to the mid-fourth century BC.

2.3. Imitations of "Achaemenid" silverware. A silver rhyton from Kul'-Oba A silver rhyton with horizontal fluting and with a protome of a recumbent ram (Fig. 4) was found in the Kul'-Oba barrow near Kerch in eastern Crimea.<sup>67</sup>



Fig. 4. A silver rhyton from Kul'-Oba. State Hermitage, inv. KO 104 (photo after Cat. New York 2000, no. 147).

Although its shape and the horizontal fluting of the horn correspond to those of Achaemenid rhyta, the treatment of the protome, decorated with circles with dots inside, is not characteristic of Achaemenid rhyta. Rather, it finds parallels on items of the Graeco-Scythian style,<sup>68</sup> for instance, on a gold overlay with images of two rams from the Scythian barrow of the mid-fourth century BC in Gajmanova Mogila.<sup>69</sup> Thus, the rhyton from Kul'-Oba should be considered as a local Bosporan imitation of rhyta of Achaemenid type.

#### 2.4. Objects of the Achaemenid circle

Deep Achaemenid bowls from the Solokha and Zhirnyj barrows. Phiale from the tumulus on Mount Zelenskaja

A.Yu. Alekseev attributes to the items made in the so-called Graeco-Achaemenid tradition a set of horse bridle found in an individual horse grave

of the Alexandropol barrow, including a frontlet in the form of a sculpted horse head with a characteristic vertical bun on the head, untypical for Scythian horses, but having parallels in items of Achaemenid toreutic.<sup>70</sup> Actually, Alekseev does not provide examples of such treatment of horse hair in metal-work. Except for similar buns on the heads of winged horses, for example the handles of a silver amphora-rhyton of unknown provenance, now in Berlin,<sup>71</sup> the closest parallel of which I know is the rendering of the horse hair on the gold earrings<sup>72</sup> from the so-called Akhalgori Treasure found in the late 19th century in the territory of modern southern Ossetia,<sup>73</sup> but this is now considered to date to the second half of the fourth to the early third century BC.<sup>74</sup> At the same time, stylistically, the treatment of the horse heads on the earrings from Akhalgori, being most probably an example of Colchian workmanship in an Achaemenidizing style, have nothing to do with the frontlet from the Alexandropol barrow. Similar treatment of horse hair is also seen on the earrings with pendants from Vani burial no. 6/1961; the earrings are examples of Colchian goldwork of the fifth to the first half of the fourth century BC.<sup>75</sup> However, the attribution seems to be arguable, especially given the parallels both in form and decoration with gold and silver frontlets from the Thracian tumuli of the second half of the fourth century BC.<sup>76</sup>

We can discuss with much more certitude the bronze phialae from the central burial of the Solokha barrow<sup>77</sup> and from the destroyed burial of the Zhirnyj ("Fat")<sup>78</sup> barrow near Stanitsa Temizhbekovskaja in the Kuban valley as examples of metalware of the Achaemenid circle: they belong to the group of the so-called deep Achaemenid bowls which originate primarily from Egypt, Iran, Syria and Cyprus.<sup>79</sup> On the basis of proportions, Pfrommer dates the bowl from Solokha (Fig. 5) as early as the first half of the fifth century BC,<sup>80</sup> which seems not to be substantially grounded. In its shape and proportions it is rather similar to a silver bowl from Gezer.<sup>81</sup> The bowl from Zhirnyj barrow (Fig. 6), which M. Pfrommer does not discuss, finds closest parallels among the silver bowls from Raduvene in Thrace.<sup>82</sup> Another close parallel is a bronze bowl found in the Lycian necropolis of Karaçalli near Antalya, dated to the first quarter of the fourth century BC.<sup>83</sup> Its shape and proportions may also be compared with those of the silver bowls from Erzincan, although the latter are much larger in dimension.<sup>84</sup>

A silver phiale from tomb no. 3 in the barrow on Mount Zelenskaja on the Taman peninsula (Fig. 7), with flaring offset rim and decorated in the lower round-bottomed part with numerous petals,<sup>85</sup> belongs to the type "Flache Schale mit gerade verlaufender Wandung und ausladendem Rand" (after Abka i-Khavari). It finds parallels in tomb B at Derveni in Macedonia,<sup>86</sup> in the Naip tumulus in southeastern Thrace<sup>87</sup>, in Prusias in Bithynia (reportedly)<sup>88</sup> and in the burial on the acropolis of Susa.<sup>89</sup> A similar mid-fourth century BC phiale comes from Acarnania.<sup>90</sup> All these phialae are decorated with pointed leaves, not with petals, thus, they are often designated as "leaf phiale", a type derived from Achaemenid fluted phialae of the fifth century and known in



*Fig. 5. A bronze bowl from the central burial of Solokha. State Hermitage, inv. Dn 1912 1/54 (photo after Mantsevich 1987, 39, no. 12).*

Greece by the early fourth century.<sup>91</sup> M. Pfrommer<sup>92</sup> maintains that the phiale from the Zelenskoi tumulus is executed in the late Achaemenid tradition and he compares it with the pre-Ptolemaic phiale from the Tuch el-Karamus Treasure. Indeed, the shape of the Tuch el-Karamus phiale<sup>93</sup> is similar to that of the Zelenskoi phiale. Among the phialae from Tuch el-Karamus, a vessel with similar petalled decoration should be mentioned.<sup>94</sup> Petalled decoration is seen on a bronze phiale from Ur, with a very similar profile,<sup>95</sup> on a silver phiale from the Oxus Treasure<sup>96</sup> and more often on some silver bowls of similar shape from Thrace.<sup>97</sup>

### *3. Achaemenid objects and earlier Near Eastern finds in the north Pontic area*

Thus, the six finds discussed above are the only examples of: (a) toreutics of Achaemenid style (the handle of the Chertomlyk sword); (b) “Achaemenid-inspired” objects (the rhyton from the Seven Brothers barrow no. 4, the bowls from the Solokha, Zhirnyj and Zelenskoj barrows); and (c) imitations of the Achaemenid style (the rhyton from Kul’-Oba) found in the north Pontic area. Their volume is much less than the number of Near Eastern toreutic items of the eighth to seventh century BC found in the Kelermes barrows in the Kuban area. The Near Eastern imports are primarily details of furniture and utensils, which were most probably used by the Scythians in a way other



Fig. 6. A bronze bowl from Zhirnyj barrow near Stanitsa Temizhbekovskaja. Krasnodar Museum (photo after Anfimov 1966, 22, fig. 5).

than originally intended. The majority of the other toreutic items found in the Kelermes barrows, arms (a sword, a ceremonial axe, decorative plates of shields and quivers), vessels (a bowl and rhyta) and a mirror, were rather items of Urartian, Iranian and Asia Minor origin made for Scythian customers<sup>98</sup> in the second to third quarters of the seventh century BC.<sup>99</sup> According to L.K. Galanina, several such workshops could have existed in the Near East.<sup>100</sup> However, repeated stylistic elements on the items, executed in various artistic traditions,<sup>101</sup> rather speak in favour of a single workshop, in which craftsmen of various origins could have worked together. Perhaps, this "Scythian workshop", uniting toreuts from Urartu, Iran, Lydia and Ionia, could have operated at the headquarters of the Scythian kings during their raids in the Near East, although the suggestion of the possible location of this workshop at the Scythian headquarters in the Kuban area has also been raised.<sup>102</sup>

In addition, fragmentary silver rhyta of the late seventh to early sixth century BC, most probably of the pre-Achaemenid period, were found in the early Scythian barrows in the Don area (Krivorozh'e)<sup>103</sup> and the forest-steppe of Ukraine (Ljubotin barrow no. 2).<sup>104</sup> They originally looked similar to the rhyta from Marash in Syria<sup>105</sup> and Filippovka in southern Ural.<sup>106</sup>



Fig. 7. A silver phiale from the barrow on Mount Zelenskaja, tomb no. 3. State Hermitage, inv. Zel. 36 (photo Institute of History of Material Culture, St Petersburg, photoarchive, negative no. 15204).

#### 4. Patterns of distribution of Achaemenid finds

##### 4.1. The Black Sea area and Caucasus

Another question concerns the various patterns of distribution of Achaemenid finds. The rhyton with a winged-ibex protome, which may be attributed to an Asia Minor workshop, worked in the Achaemenid style in the second quarter of the fifth century BC, is the only item executed in this style found in the rich burial of the Seven Brothers barrow no. 4. The barrow is dated to the middle to the third quarter of the fifth century, and yielded both toreutic items of supposedly Attic workmanship, a silver cup with gilded engraved images (Nike sitting on a stool with carved legs)<sup>107</sup> dated to ca. 470 BC, and items of local Bosporan workshops, including other rhyta.<sup>108</sup> Similar toreutic items worked in the Achaemenid style are represented, for instance, by the above-mentioned amphora-rhyton from Kukova Mogila in Thrace,<sup>109</sup> whose burial<sup>110</sup> is more or less synchronous to that of the Seven Brothers barrow no. 4, or the rhyton with a bull protome<sup>111</sup> from the so-called Borovo Treasure of the first half of the fourth century BC.<sup>112</sup>

It is worth noting that the small quantity of toreutic items in the Achaemenid style from the north Pontic area contrasts to the rather numerous distribution of seals, both cylinder and scaraboid, of Graeco-Persian type. They originate, primarily, from the necropoleis of the Bosporan Kingdom, first of all Pantikapaion, with separate finds in one of the Seven Brothers barrows and from Chersonesos (see Appendix 1) (Fig. 8). Remarkable also is the fact that such seals are practically unknown in the Scythian barrows of the Dnieper basin,<sup>113</sup> where, for instance in Chertomlyk, there are known finds of gold finger bezelrings with engraved images of east Greek type.<sup>114</sup> In the north Pontic area, four of 14 seals originating from reliable contexts are cylinder seals, which were used in the Achaemenid Empire from the reign of Dareios

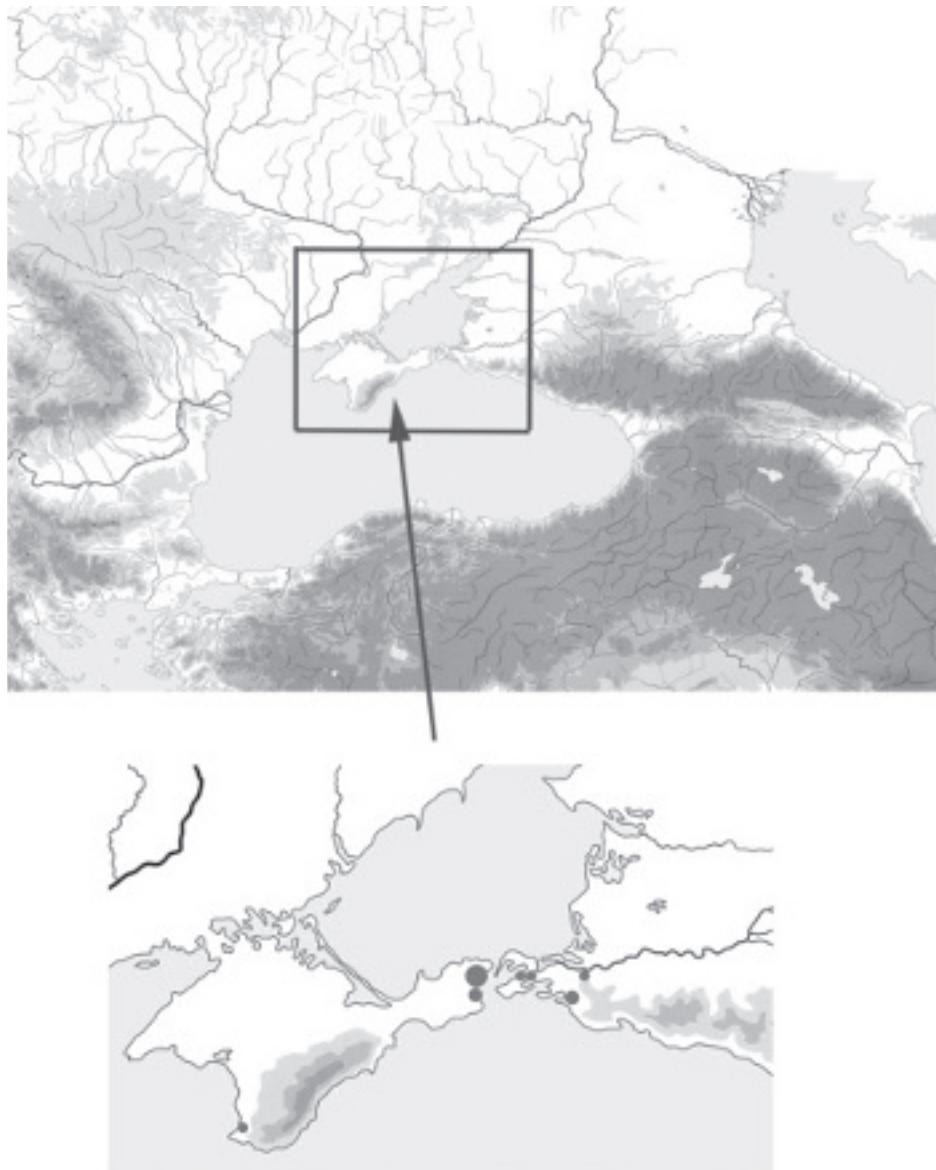


Fig. 8. The distribution of Graeco-Persian seals of the fifth to fourth century BC in the Crimea and the Kuban area (map M. Treister).

I for sealing royal documents.<sup>115</sup> At the same time, some of the seals found in the area of the Bosporan Kingdom were most probably cut in western Anatolia, primarily in Lydia, where numerous examples of Achaemenid-type seals have been found. Noteworthy is the comparison of the motif of a pair of confronting winged griffins on a scaraboid with a Lydian inscription from

Pantikapaion<sup>116</sup> with the motif of a pyramidal stamp seal from Ikiztepe<sup>117</sup>. Also, the loops of the scarabs from Nymphaion and Seven Brothers barrow no.3 find exact prototypes among the loops of the scaraboids from Ikiztepe<sup>118</sup> and from Sardis<sup>119</sup> in Lydia.

On the other hand, neither in Scythia nor in the Cimmerian Bosporus was jewellery of the Achaemenid style found. This situation contrasts sharply with numerous finds, including bracelets of various types<sup>120</sup> and a pectoral,<sup>121</sup> found in burial no.6 in Vani, Colchis. Also in Colchis (Mtsidziri), an "Achaemenid-inspired" silver rhyton with a protome of a syncretic deity was found.<sup>122</sup> The finds of "Achaemenid-inspired" jewellery and vessels of Achaemenid style occur not only from Colchis, which paid tribute to the Achaemenid Empire and was a buffer state adjoining its border,<sup>123</sup> but also in northeastern Georgia, most certainly outside the border of the Achaemenid Empire (the so-called Akhalgori Treasury, presumably an inventory of a burial dated to the late fourth to early third century BC<sup>124</sup> and the so-called Kazbegi Treasure).<sup>125</sup> It is also remarkable that in the territory of modern Georgia, of which only a certain part allegedly belonged to the Achaemenid satrapy, only six Achaemenid seals, four of which originated from later contexts of the first centuries AD, have been found.<sup>126</sup> At the same time, Georgian finds of jewellery and vessels made of precious metals in the Achaemenid style, both in terms of quantity and variety of types, exceed those from Armenia, which was certainly an Achaemenid satrapy, and which has yielded silver Achaemenid and Achaemenid-style rhyta in the Erebuni Treasure<sup>127</sup> and also separate finds of jewellery, such as a pectoral from Armavir.<sup>128</sup>

## 4.2. The south Ural region

The distribution of Achaemenid and Achaemenid-style silver, silver-gilt and gold vessels, including various shapes, such as rhyta, double-handled jugs, cups and phialae, exemplifies an absolutely different pattern in the rather compact area of the south Ural. All ten finds originate from early Sarmatian burials of the fourth century BC, including those in barrows no. 1 and no. 4 of Filippovka,<sup>129</sup> barrows no. 1 and B in Prokhorovka,<sup>130</sup> Dolinnoe<sup>131</sup> and Orsk.<sup>132</sup>

### 4.2.1. Vessels made of precious metals

#### 4.2.1.1. Vessels from Filippovka

A gold goblet with double-layered walls and double handles shaped as ibexes (Fig. 9) from cache no. 2 in barrow no. 1 is unique.<sup>133</sup> However, a stylistically similar treatment of animal heads may be seen on a silver inscribed rhyton, the lower part of which is shaped in the form of three ibex heads. The rhyton,<sup>134</sup> which is kept in the National Museum, Tehran, originates from the so-called Western Cave Treasure (Kalmakareh cave in Luristan), which was looted between 1989 and 1992.<sup>135</sup> Given the Neo-Elamite and Neo-Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions on many of the vessels, the treasure may be dated to the late seventh or to the early sixth century BC. It may be supposed, thus,



*Fig. 9. A gold goblet from cache no. 2, barrow no. 1 in Filippovka. Ufa, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Centre of Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, inv. 831/384 (photo after Cat. New York 2000, no. 93).*

that this is the earliest of the vessels found in Filippovka – it may be tentatively dated to the late sixth to the first half of the fifth century BC – and can be attributed as an item of an Iranian (Luristan?) workshop.

A silver amphora-rhyton (Fig. 10) from burial no. 4 of barrow no. 4/2006<sup>136</sup> belongs to the same class of vessels as a piece from Kukova Mogila, which has already been discussed briefly above.<sup>137</sup> The decoration of the vessel's



Fig. 10. A silver amphora from burial no. 4, barrow no. 4 in Filippovka. Orenburg, Local Lore Museum, inv. 19064 (photo after Jablonskij & Meshcherjakov 2007, col. pl. 1).

body with only vertical fluting (without lotus-palmette chain) finds parallels on vessels of unknown origin in the Pomerance Collection<sup>138</sup> and the Berlin Museum.<sup>139</sup> The closest parallel to the handle showing an ibex occurs on a vessel in the Ortiz Collection.<sup>140</sup> A similar silver handle showing a bull figure with its head turned back (but without a spout) originates from the treasure of a toreut found in Babylon and dates to the middle of the first quarter of the fourth century BC.<sup>141</sup> Given the distribution of such vessels, both actual artefacts and depictions,<sup>142</sup> there are good reasons to date the amphora-rhyton from Filippovka from the mid-fifth to the early fourth century BC and to consider it as derived from an Asia Minor workshop.

The closest parallel in shape to the silver-gilt tulip-shaped rhyton (Fig. 11) from cache no. 2 in barrow no. 1<sup>143</sup> is a silver goblet, with a lost, supposedly conical basin, from treasure no. 2 found in the early 20th century in Panderma in the western Asia Minor. The body of this cup is horizontally fluted, the incised frieze on the upper part of the body is composed of alternate circles and double lotus flowers. The shape and decoration of the goblet from Panderma give reason to consider it as inspired by the lydion shape and to date it tentatively to ca. 400 BC, considering it as an item of a Lydian workshop.<sup>144</sup>

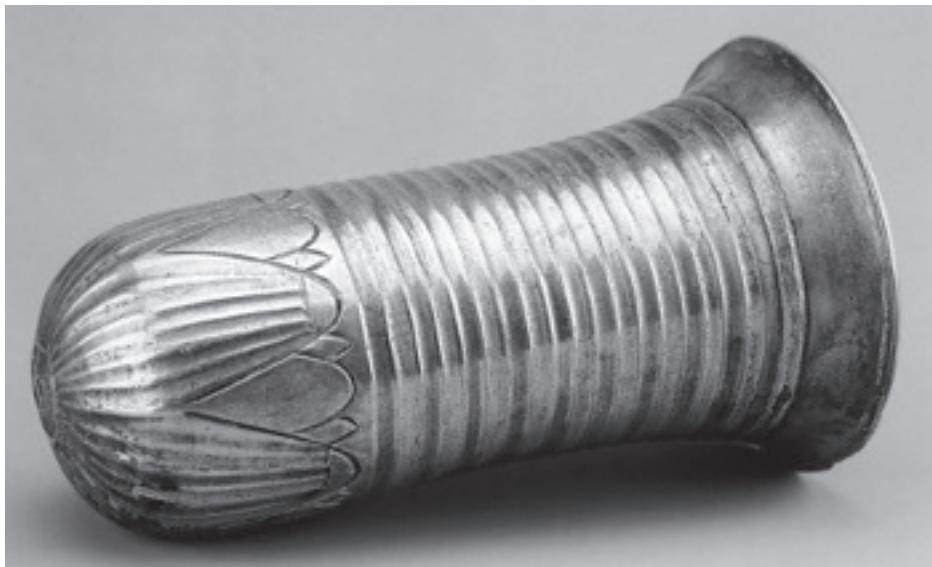


Fig. 11. A silver-gilt rhyton from cache no. 2, barrow no. 1 in Filippovka. Ufa, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Centre of Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, inv. 831/388 (photo after Cat. New York 2000, no. 95).

A rosette composed of lily petals (*nelumbo*) is a characteristic element of the fifth to fourth century BC silver goblets distributed primarily in Egypt, but known also outside of its borders, for instance in Asia Minor,<sup>145</sup> Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>146</sup> The feature of gilt elements alternating with similar ones in silver colour is characteristic of items of toreutics of the first half of the fourth century BC, for example the phiale said to have been found in Akarnania<sup>147</sup> and those from the Rogozen Treasure,<sup>148</sup> as well as the above-mentioned jugs from the Rogozen Treasure.<sup>149</sup> Thus, the vessel from Filippovka may be most probably dated within the period the late fifth/early fourth century BC to the first half of the fourth century BC and considered as the product of a workshop located in western Asia Minor or Thrace.

A silver rhyton with a bull protome (Fig. 12) from cache no. 2 in barrow no. 1<sup>150</sup> finds its nearest parallel in the above-mentioned find from Borovo<sup>151</sup> and is probably an item manufactured in the first half of the fourth century BC in the workshop of the quarters of the king of the Odryssian dynasty.

A vessel with a flat-bottom, egg-shaped body, decorated with concentric incised lines, encrusted with gold wire, with a short neck widening towards the out-turning lip (Fig. 13) from cache no. 1 of barrow no. 1<sup>152</sup> most probably imitates the form of the lydion, a silver vessel of that shape<sup>153</sup> which is known also in Lydian pottery<sup>154</sup> originating from looters' excavations of the Ikitzepe barrow in eastern Lydia.

The encrustation of grooves with gold wire is a feature unknown, up till



Fig. 12. A silver rhyton from cache no. 2, barrow no. 1 in Filippovka. Ufa, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Centre of Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, inv. 831/386 (photo after Cat. New York 2000, no. 94).

now, on items of toreutics of the Achaemenid circle. Though some of the Achaemenid silver vessels bear gold inlays, they are made in the form of thin gold plates, inserted in grooves in the walls.<sup>155</sup> At the same time, we see



*Fig. 13. A silver gold-inlaid vessel with flaring neck from cache no. 1, barrow no. 1 in Filippovka, Ufa, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Centre of Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, inv. 831/387 (photo after Cat. New York 2000, no. 19).*

motifs in gold wire or narrow strips of gold inlaid in silver on some items of Thracian toreutics dated to the first half to the middle of the fourth century BC.<sup>156</sup> We cannot define precisely the centre of manufacture of the vessel from Filippovka or its exact date.

#### 4.2.1.2. Vessels from Prokhorovka

Special studies devoted to the vessels from Prokhorovka allow me to avoid repetition of their analysis.<sup>157</sup> One of the phialae found in barrow no. 1 (Fig. 14)<sup>158</sup> may be dated to the second half of the fifth century BC, a second phiale from barrow no. 1 (Fig. 15)<sup>159</sup> and the cup from barrow B (Fig. 16)<sup>160</sup> belong to the second half of the fourth century BC.

The comparative material does not allow us to determine the manufacturing centre of the earlier phiale (Fig. 14), though parallels to its shape and decoration permit an attribution to the class of vessels which were broadly used in various satrapies of the Achaemenid Empire. From that point of view, the phiale now kept in Alma-Ata may be conventionally determined as an item of "Achaemenid international style".

The later phiale (Fig. 15), kept in Orenburg, was supposedly manufactured in Alexandria. The peculiar features of its shape and decoration testify that



Fig. 14. A silver phiale from Prokhorovka, barrow no. 1. Alma-Ata, National Museum of Kazakhstan, inv. KP 3986 (photo after Cat. Mantua 1998, no. 456).



*Fig. 15. A silver phiale from Prokhorovka, barrow no. 1. Orenburg, Local Lore Museum, inv. 47/3 (photo courtesy of L.T. Jablonskij).*



*Fig. 16. A silver-gilt cup from Prokhorovka, barrow B, burial no. 3. Orenburg, Local Lore Museum, inv. 18873/1148 (photo courtesy of L.T. Jablonskij).*

that is rather an "Achaemenid-inspired" item, executed in an early Hellenistic workshop, and one of the numerous articles executed also after the disintegration of the Achaemenid Empire in the territories of the former satrapies.<sup>161</sup>

For the "Achaemenid" bowls of the so-called Macedonian type, to which, given its shape, the cup from barrow B (Fig. 16) is rather close, a different decoration of the lower part of the body and the bottom is characteristic. Neither of the bowls found in Macedonia demonstrates similar incised and gilded floral patterns with ivy leaves.<sup>162</sup> The "Macedonian" bowls have rather standard dimensions; they are significantly smaller than the bowl from Prokhorovka. Similar decoration, in terms of shape and technique, occurs only on two bowls of somewhat different shape, with much more elongated necks: one of these bowls originates from south Italy,<sup>163</sup> the other from Thrace.<sup>164</sup> The lower parts of both bowls have vertical fluting, similar to those of the "Macedonian" bowls. In spite of the proximity in terms of form and proportion to the so-called Achaemenid bowls of Macedonian type, the dimensions and decoration of the bowl from Prokhorovka testify most probably to manufacture outside of Macedonia. However, given the peculiarity of its decoration, we do not possess data which would allow for a more precise localization of its workshop.<sup>165</sup>

#### 4.2.1.3. Comparative analysis of the imported metal vessels of the Filippovka and Prokhorovka necropoleis

In general, the silver vessels of the Achaemenid style from Filippovka (Figs. 9-13) are dated between the mid-fifth and the first half of the fourth century BC. The majority of them may be considered as products of Asia Minor and (or) Thracian workshops. The vessels found in Prokhorovka (Figs. 14-16) were manufactured in different centres and at different times: two of the three vessels are items not of the Achaemenid style, but, rather, they are "Achaemenid-inspired" objects, executed in the second half of the fourth century BC most probably in the Balkans and in Alexandria.

#### 4.2.2. Jewellery

Not only the quantity of vessels, which constitute the most numerous group of Achaemenid and "Achaemenid-inspired" vessels of precious metals outside the borders of the Achaemenid Empire, and the variety of shapes speak in favour of a different pattern of distribution, but also the fact that some of the above-mentioned graves (Filippovka barrow nos. 4 and 15 and a barrow near Orsk) yielded finds of Achaemenid jewellery, including torques, bracelets and an element of a pectoral. Burial no. 4 of barrow no. 4/2006 of the Filippovka necropolis yielded gold jewellery in the Achaemenid style, including a torque (Fig. 17)<sup>166</sup> and an omega-shaped bracelet with sculpted images of ibexes (Fig. 18)<sup>167</sup> (similar images may be seen on the bracelets from the Oxus Treasure)<sup>168</sup>. A barrow near Orsk yielded a torque with the terminals in the form of sculpted ibexes<sup>169</sup>, similar to the images on the terminals of a pair of

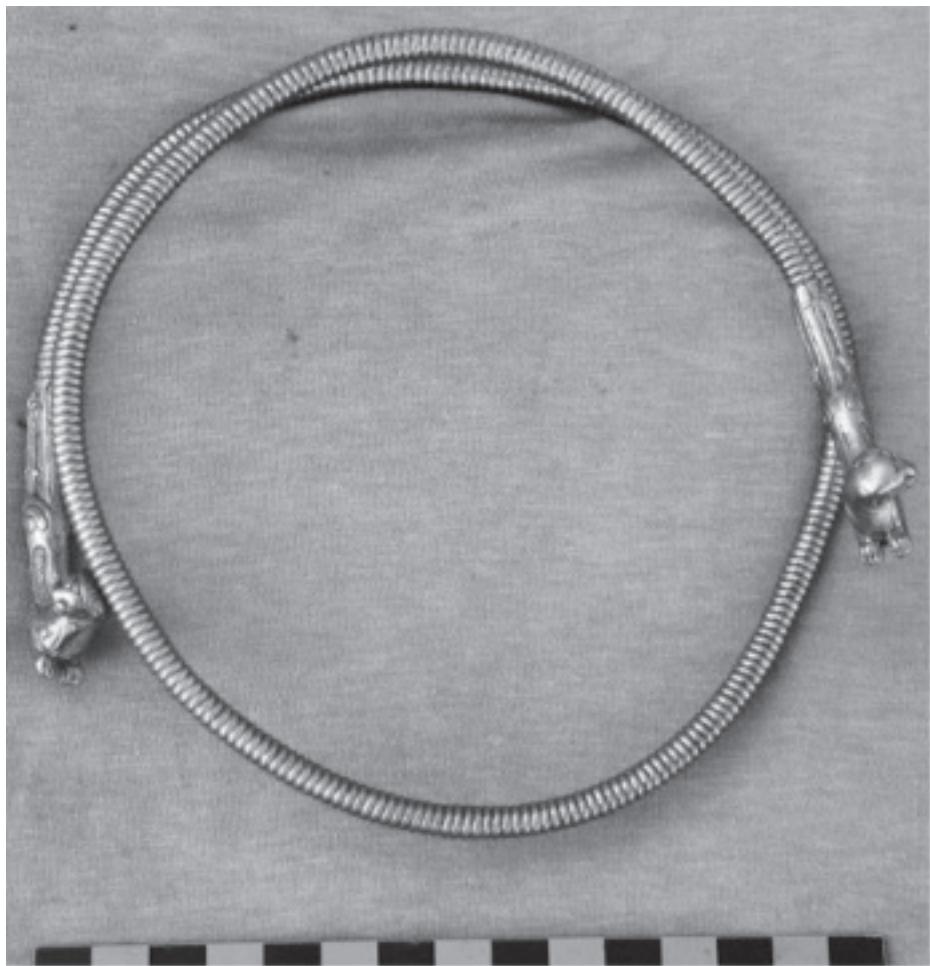


Fig. 17. A gold torque from Filippovka, barrow no. 4, burial no. 4. Orenburg, Local Lore Museum, inv. 19066 (photo courtesy of L.T. Jablonskij).



Fig. 18. Gold bracelets from Filippovka, barrow no. 4, burial no. 4. Orenburg, Local Lore Museum, inv. 19105-19106 (photo courtesy of L.T. Jablonskij).

bracelets from Filippovka.<sup>170</sup> Comparable images of caprids decorate fragmentary gold torques from the Oxus Treasure<sup>171</sup> and a piece now in Brooklyn.<sup>172</sup> The modelling of the back legs in low relief with cells for inlays on the hoops (Fig. 18) finds parallels, for instance, on the gold bracelets with lion-griffin terminals from Dağ Kızılca Köyü near Manisa<sup>173</sup> and from the Oxus Treasure.<sup>174</sup> Also, the decoration of the ribbed hoop of the torque from Filippovka with transverse grooves (Fig. 17) finds numerous parallels in jewellery of Achaemenid style.<sup>175</sup> At the same time, Achaemenid-style seals are almost unknown,



Fig. 19. A gold inlaid plaque from Filippovka, barrow no. 15, burial no. 1. Orenburg, Local Lore Museum, inv. 18980/73 (photo courtesy of L. T. Jablonskij).

except for the find from barrow no. 2 near Pokrovka of a conical chalcedony stamp showing the king in a struggle with a lion.<sup>176</sup>

A gold plaque with cloisonné decoration, showing a bearded man wearing typical Achaemenid headware (Fig. 19), was reused as an amulette in the female Sarmatian burial no. 1 of Filippovka barrow no. 15/2004.<sup>177</sup> Its closest parallel originates from Yozgat in Turkey.<sup>178</sup> Another piece of unknown origin is kept in the State Hermitage Museum.<sup>179</sup> Both plaques were originally parts of some complicated ornament, like a pectoral, which is now kept in Miho Museum.<sup>180</sup> The similarity of these objects, in terms of the images, style and decorative technique, with the gold roundels from Susa<sup>181</sup> and an earring once in the Norbert Schimmel Collection<sup>182</sup> is evident. The burial excavated in 1901 on the acropolis of Susa was previously dated to the very end of the Achaemenid period, based on the date of coins that were minted at Arad on the Syrian coast allegedly between 350-332 BC.<sup>183</sup> However, the coins and, correspondingly, the tomb itself and the jewellery it yielded were recently redated to the late fifth century BC.<sup>184</sup>

#### 4.2.3. Arms

The silver handle of a knife, decorated with a stag protome with gold-inlaid details, was found in burial no. 5 of barrow no. 5 in Filippovka.<sup>185</sup> It finds a close parallel in a hippopotamus ivory knife handle found in a tumulus at Dedetepe in northwestern Turkey, which is dated by the burial inventory to ca. 480-460 BC.<sup>186</sup> Its Achaemenid inspiration is further confirmed by the outlined beard leading to the ears and, especially, by the typical representation of the animal's hindquarters in relief, as we see on some of the Achaemenid rhyta,<sup>187</sup> on the majority of amphora-rhyta<sup>188</sup> and in jewellery.<sup>189</sup> At the same time, the treatment of individual elements of the image (the eyes, wings, joints, shoulder blades etc.) on the knife handle from Filippovka vary from the characteristic canons of Achaemenid-style art. Although the silver figures of animals in the round which were used primarily as vessel handles are often additionally inlaid with gold,<sup>190</sup> the decoration of the knife handle from Filippovka differs from these in the shape of the gold inlays, which are comparable with the gold-inlaid decoration on the iron swords, quiver hooks and knife from Filippovka<sup>191</sup> and on the dagger from the princely Saka burial in Issyk barrow in Kazakhstan.<sup>192</sup> The suggestion that this technique had early roots with the Eurasian nomads is corroborated by its use already in the

seventh century BC, based on the evidence of the decoration of an axe<sup>193</sup> and arrowheads<sup>194</sup> from barrow Arzhan-2 in south Siberia. Thus, it is evident that the handle of the knife from Filippovka cannot be considered as an example of the Achaemenid international style, although it was inspired by such an item, most probably of Asia Minor manufacture in the first half of the fifth century BC. We do not know who created this knife handle. The peculiarities of style and the inlaid technique do not exclude the possibility that it could have been manufactured either in a provincial Achaemenid workshop where its craftsmen considered the tastes of the Sarmatian client or by a Sarmatian metalworker after Achaemenid prototypes.

#### 4.2.4. Changes of function and repairs

Another important feature is a change of function for some of the objects by the Sarmatians. In contrast to the finds from Colchis and northeastern Georgia, which are represented both by imports from the Achaemenid Empire, most of which were manufactured presumably in Anatolia, as well as by locally made "Achaemenid-inspired" items, one of the objects found in south Ural may be identified as a locally-made item imitating metalware or jewellery of Achaemenid type. At the same time, the phialae from barrow no. 1 near Prokhorovka had secondary use as phalerae of horse-harnesses (Figs. 14-15), while one of them bears signs of a handicraft repair, by means of sewing with the help of a narrow silver strip (Fig. 15).<sup>195</sup> One of the handles of a silver-gilt amphora-rhyton (Fig. 10) from barrow no. 4/2006 near Filippovka was lost and the vessel was most probably used as an incense-burner.<sup>196</sup>

### 5. *The means of distribution*

A.Yu. Alekseev suggests that the Chertomlyk sword (Fig. 3) could have been a gift from Alexander the Great to the Scythians, in exchange for the gifts sent from Scythia, or that it could have been a Scythian heirloom that somehow made its way from Persia in the fifth century BC, perhaps via the Saka tribes.<sup>197</sup> According to E.V. Chernenko, the sword could have been booty that the Scythians captured from the Persians during Dareios' invasion of the steppes at the end of the sixth century BC.<sup>198</sup> All these suggestions seem to me to be mere speculations, as we do not have any conclusive data for dating the sword and its reworking.

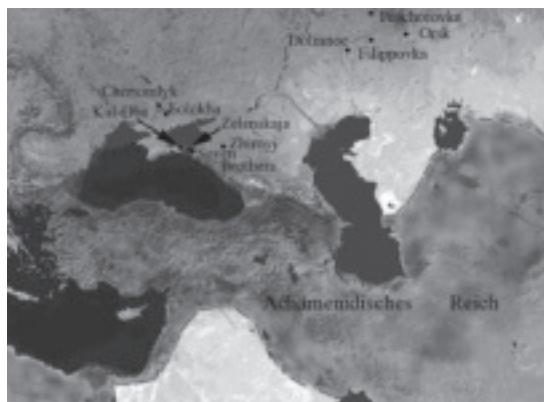
The possible manufacture of the Seven Brothers rhyton (Figs. 1, 2) in an Anatolian workshop, working in the Achaemenid style, as well as the burial inventory do not give us any hints concerning the possible relation of the find to direct contacts with the Achaemenid Empire, although one cannot exclude the possibility that the rhyton was a diplomatic gift. Such a function fits the suggestion that the Seven Brothers barrows formed a necropolis of the Sindian kings,<sup>199</sup> and the proximity of the dates of the rhyton and the burial. It is worth noting that the earliest items of toreutics and glyptics of the

Achaemenid style find their way into Cimmerian Bosporus and Sindike not later than the middle of the fifth century BC, during the rule of Artaxerxes I. Most of the cylinder seals and scaraboids, whose provenance is known to us (Fig. 8), originate from the fourth century burials. However, the earliest burial complex containing such a find – the tomb of a warrior excavated in Nymphaion in 1876 (see Appendix 1, no. 9) – is dated already to the first half of the fifth century BC. Is it possible to discuss them as evidence of diplomatic contacts of the Achaemenid Empire, for which, in the period discussed – the last stage of the Graeco-Persian Wars before the Kallias Peace (449 BC) – the strengthening their positions in the basin of the Black Sea could have a certain interest? Although the material in our possession does not give any grounds for direct historical conclusions, undoubtedly it reflects certain contacts (see below). In any case, we have a striking similarity in the distribution patterns of the Achaemenid seals of the fifth to fourth centuries BC and the bronze finger rings of the late third century BC of Ptolemaic type in the north Pontic area,<sup>200</sup> which can hardly be coincidental.

There are also several examples of bronze and silver phialae of Achaemenid types, found both in the early burial of the royal Scythian barrow of Solokha (Fig. 5) as well as in the fourth century BC burials on the Taman peninsula (Zelenskaya Gora: Fig. 7) and in the Kuban area (Zhirnyi barrow: Fig. 6). The Kul'-Oba rhyton with a ram protome (Fig. 4) testifies that toreutic items of Achaemenid style were known in the north Pontic area and were even imitated by local craftsmen.

The various patterns of distribution of Achaemenid goldware and silverware and jewellery by the early Sarmatian tribes of the south Ural area (Fig. 20) suggest a different explanation of the means of their distribution. One of the burials in the barrows near Orsk (not the same one with the gold torque, executed in the Achaemenid style, and a silver rhyton) contained an alabastron with a quadralingual inscription with the name of Artaxerxes, most probably Artaxerxes I,<sup>201</sup> and the most plausible explanation, according to R. Schmitt, is that “solche Gefäße als Geschenke des Großkönigs für irgendwelche Verdienste aufzufassen sind, die die so Ausgezeichneten dann mit nach Hause genommen haben...”<sup>202</sup> Also, A.S. Balakhvanstev and L.T. Yablonskij maintain that such prestigious objects could have been donated to chiefs of nomads for their service as mercenaries for the Achaemenids.<sup>203</sup> These suggestions seem to be appropriate explanations. It is maintained that the major stream of objects of Near Eastern and Egyptian origin penetrated to the south Ural region via Khoresm<sup>204</sup> and could hardly have found their way into this area after the independence of Khoresm from the Achaemenid Empire, not later than the late fifth century BC.<sup>205</sup> If one accepts this, then most of the Achaemenid-style vessels found in Filippovka and the phialae and bowl found in Prokhorovka (i.e. both the vessels allegedly manufactured in Asia Minor workshops in the second half of the fifth to the first half of the fourth century BC and the “Achaemenid-inspired” items of the second half

*Fig. 20. The distribution of Achaemenid and Achaemenid-inspired metalwork to the north of the Achaemenid Empire (map M. Treister).*



of the fourth century BC manufactured by craftsmen of the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans) found different ways to the Sarmatians of the south Ural region.

One explanation with regard to the finds of silver vessels in Prokhorovka is the suggestion that the Sarmatians could have acquired them during the plundering of the Macedonian transport.<sup>206</sup> This hypothesis is based on the passages in Diodoros and Curtius Rufus which state that the Dachoi and Massagetae served under Dareios III and played an important role in the battle near Arbella (Diod. 17.59; Curt. 4.15.1-12).<sup>207</sup> To my mind, this is a plausible explanation of the finds of parts of objects and the dense distribution of various categories of objects, a considerable number of which was reworked or used in a way other than the original function. In any case, the same way via Dachoi is suggested by A.S. Balakhvantsev and L.T. Jablonskij for the silver bowl found in Prokhorovka barrow B (Fig. 16).<sup>208</sup>

#### *Appendix 1. Achaemenid seals in the north Pontic area<sup>209</sup>*

Seals which are more or less contemporary with the date of the burials in which they have been found have been identified in Seven Brothers barrow no. 3 (no. 9). The barrow is allegedly associated with the latest Sindian king, Hekateios.<sup>210</sup> Also, both finds from Nymphaion (nos. 10-11) seem to be more or less close in date to those of the respective burials. However, some of the seal finds originate from distinctly later complexes, for instance, a scaraboid (no. 7) which is dated to the first half of the fourth century BC was found in a rather modest female burial on the Mithridates mound in Kerch dated to the late fourth to early third century BC. A fifth to fourth century BC seal (no. 12) was found in the burial of the "3rd Dame" in Bol'shaja Bliznitsa tumulus, which is also dated to the late fourth to early third century BC. A fourth century BC scaraboid (no. 6) was found in a cremation dated to the first half of the third century BC. Two early fourth century seals (nos. 1, 2) originate from a destroyed female burial in a wooden sarcophagus in a barrow at Stanitsa

Blagoveshchenskaja near Anapa, which is dated to the mid-third century BC; a prism seal from this barrow (no. 2) and a cylinder seal from Chersonesos (no. 13) were in secondary use.

### Seals with recorded find context

1. Blagoveshchenskaja near Anapa, a barrow, excavated by V.G. Tiesenhausen in 1882.

Cylinder seal. A Persian, wearing a tiara, stands with raised hands facing a radiate goddess, standing on a lion's back. The Arndt Group. Surely cut in Anatolia (Boardman 2000, 165).

Blue chalcedony.

**Date:** early fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** mid-third century BC (Pfrommer 1990b, 262, FK 120). On a wooden sarcophagos, see Sokol'skij 1969, 29-31, no. 21 with bibliography. State Hermitage, inv. ГИ. 1882.55.

**Literature:** CR St Petersburg 1882-1888, pl. V.3-3a; Boardman 2000, 163, fig. 5.19, 165; Boardman 2001, 353, pl. 878; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 30, no. 7.

2. Blagoveshchenskaja near Anapa, a barrow, excavated by V.G. Tiesenhausen in 1882.

Four-sided prism seal (A) a Persian holding a bow; (B) a bearded Greek, in a himation, playing with a dog; (C) a naked woman stretching; (D) two cocks fighting. Greek style.

Cornelian.

**Date:** early fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** mid-third century BC (Pfrommer 1990b, 262, FK 120). State Hermitage, inv. ГИ. 1882.56.

**Literature:** CR St Petersburg 1882-1888, 60, pl. V.1-1a; Neverov 1976a, no. 44; Neverov 1983, 110-111; Nikulina 1994, fig. 291; Boardman 2001, 352, pl. 861; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 30, no. 8.

3. Kerch, 1834. Tomb number or description unknown to me.

Cylinder seal. Persian king in battle with Greek warriors; a symbol of Akhuramazda above.

Discoloured stone in gold frame with double hoop.

**Date:** fifth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** unknown to me.

State Hermitage, inv. II. 1834.71.

**Literature:** Reinach 1892, 58, pl. XVI.2-3; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 30, no. 9.

4. Kerch, 1842. Tomb number or description unknown to me.

Cylinder seal. Persian king, two sphinxes, a Demon under a palm tree; a symbol of Akhuramazda above.

Cornelian, on a gold chain.

**Date:** fifth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** unknown to me.

State Hermitage, inv. П. 1842.112.

**Literature:** Reinach 1892, 59, pl. XVI.5-6; Nikulina 1994, fig. 426; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 30, no. 10.

5. Kerch, excavations at the Pavlovskaya battery by A.B. Ashik in 1842. Cist tomb with a female burial in a wooden sarcophagus.

Scaraboid. Two sphinxes sitting in crowns, over them a Lydian inscription. Court style. West Anatolian stamp seal (Boardman 2000, 166).

Cornelian, flattened gold hoop, widening in the centre.

**Date:** fifth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** late fifth century BC (Boardman 1970, 37, n. 98). About the complex, see Reinach 1892, 50 (gold finger ring pl. XVIII.9; bronze mirror, alabaster).

State Hermitage, inv. П. 1842.111.

**Literature:** Reinach 1892, 59, pl. XVI.10; Boardman 1970, 39, no. 5, pl. 1.5; Nikulina 1994, fig. 447; Boardman 2000, 166-167, fig. 5.27; Boardman 2001, 351, pl. 834; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 31, no. 12; Fedoseev 2007, 1022, fig. 16.4. Cf. a similar hoop, widening in the centre: a scaraboid from Pavlovskij barrow (Boardman 2001, pl. 822).

6. Kerch, 1852. Tomb number or description unknown to me. Sent to the Hermitage by L.A. Perovskij in 1853.

Scaraboid. A sphinx.

Discoloured stone, flattened gold hoop.

**Date:** fifth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** unknown to me.

State Hermitage, inv. П. 1852.18.

**Literature:** Reinach 1892, 59, pl. XVI.14; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 32, no. 19.

7. Kerch, 1839. Tomb II in a barrow on the way to Churubash, excavated by A.B. Ashik. Scaraboid. A Persian warrior, leaning on a spear.

Chalcedony.

**Date:** fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** mid-third century BC(?). A scaraboid with an image of a stag (Reinach 1892, 59, pl. XVI.9), a gold finger ring (Reinach 1892, 61, pl. XVIII.1), a bronze finger ring with a portrait image of Ptolemy II (Reinach 1892, 62, pl. XVIII.12; Neverov 1976b, 167, 170, pl. I.3, 179, n. 7) and earrings (Reinach 1892, 47, pl. VII.1) were found in a "painted vase with the profiles of a female head and the head of a horse". About the complex, see Reinach 1892, 59; Neverov 1976b, 167.

State Hermitage, inv. П. 1839.8.

**Literature:** Reinach 1892, 60, pl. XVII.9; Maximowa 1928, 669, fig. 23; Neverov 1976a, no. 40; Nikulina 1994, fig. 351; Boardman 2001, 290, pl. 532; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 33, no. 26.

8. Kerch, Mithridates mount, excavated by V.V. Shkorpril, burial no. 25/1907. Scaraboid. A running sphinx. Chalcedony.

**Date:** first half of the fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** late fourth to early third century BC. Among other finds, six copper coins (Burachkov 1884, pl. XX, 89 = Shelov 1978, pl. V, 56 = Anokhin 1986, pl. 3, 112) and one copper coin (Burachkov 1884, pl. XX, 93 = Shelov 1956, pl. V, 55 = Anokhin 1986, pl. 3, 113) were found. According to V.A. Anokhin, the coins belong to the series II-24, which he dates to ca. 314-310 BC (Anokhin 1986, 140). E.M. Alekseeva dates the beads found in the burial to the second half of the fourth to the third century BC (Alekseeva 1975, 76, no. II200). A gold finger ring with an image of a lion attacking a bull (Shkorpril 1910, 18, fig. 3) is dated to the fourth century BC (Neverov 1986, 23, 27, n. 75).

State Hermitage, inv. II. 1907.7.

**Literature:** CR St Petersburg 1907, 79, fig. 68; Pharmakowsky 1908, 169 f.; Shkorpril 1910, 18, fig. 2; Neverov 1976a, no. 49; Neverov 1983, 109; Nikulina 1994, fig. 290; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 34, no. 32.

9. Seven Brothers barrow no 3, excavated by V.G. Tiesenhausen in 1876.

Scaraboid. A bear. The Group of Leaping Lions.

Chalcedony. Gold hoop, circular in section.

**Date:** first half of the fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** first quarter of the fourth century BC (Vlasova 2001b, 131), after the find of a Thasian stamp of the early fourth century BC.

State Hermitage, inv. СБр. III.1.

**Literature:** Artamonow 1970, pl. 131; Neverov 1976a, no. 47; Nikulina 1994, fig. 262; Boardman 2001, 354, pl. 910; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 35, no. 35.

10. Nymphaion, barrow no. 24/1876, tomb no. 19 1876, burial of a warrior.

Scaraboid. (A) A cow with a calf; (B) a symbol of Ahuramazda.

Obsidian. Gold hoop, circular in section.

**Date:** first half of the fifth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** first half of the fifth century BC.

State Hermitage, inv. ГК/Н. 84.

**Literature:** CR St Petersburg 1877, 224, pl. III; Minns 1913, 208, fig. 106; Silant'eva 1959, 56, fig. 24.2; Brentjes 1967, 239, pl. I; Artamonow 1970, 24, fig. 36; Neverov 1983, 108; Neverov 1995, 72-73, no. 15, pl. XII.3; Cat. St Petersburg 1999, 112, no. 293; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 35, no. 35.

11. Nymphaion, barrow no. 5/1868, female burial.

Scaraboid. A winged lion, standing on its hind paws.

Chalcedony.

**Date:** first half of the fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** first half of the fourth century BC(?).

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. AN 1885. 491.

**Literature:** Vickers 1979, 44, pl. 14b-c; Boardman 2001, pl. 838; Vickers 2002, 9, 42-43, pl. 15 (below).

12. Great Bliznitsa tumulus, the so-called burial of the "3rd Dame", excavated in 1868.

Octogan seal. Persian king in a struggle with a lion. Court style.

Chalcedony, flattened hoop.

**Date:** fifth to fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** late fourth to early third century BC (Pruglo 1974, 77; Schwarzmaier 1996, 136).

State Hermitage, inv. ББ. 123.

**Literature:** CR St Petersburg 1869, pl. I.18; Boardman 1970, 42, no. 86, pl. 4; Neverov 1983, 107; Nikulina 1994, fig. 445; Schwarzmaier 1996, 123, fig. 10 (below right); Boardman 2001, 351, pl. 824; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 31, no. 14.

13. Chersonesos, 1853.

Cylinder seal, fragmented. A mounted Persian with a spear.

Cornelian.

**Date:** fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** unknown to me.

State Hermitage, inv. X. 1853.5

**Literature:** Neverov 1983, 111; Neverov 1984, 47; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 31, no. 11.

14. Phanagoria, tile burial in a barrow to the west of the site, excavated in 1954.

Scaraboid. A female with a phiale in her hand.

Chalcedony, flattened gold framing.

**Date:** middle to second half of the fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** late fourth to early third century BC.

Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, inv. Φ-1138.

**Literature:** Marchenko 1960, 22-27; Nikulina 1965, 186, fig. 1.11, 192-195; Finogenova 1993, no. 3; Nikulina 1994, fig. 516; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 31, no. 11.

15. Smela, Cherkassy region, Ukraine, a group of barrows over Kholodnyj Jar, barrow no. 19/1885.

Cylinder seal. Horse galloping to the right. A symbol of Ahuramazda above.

Chalcedony.

**Date:** late fifth to fourth century BC.

**Date of the complex:** fourth century BC (Petrenko 1967, 95).

**Literature:** Bobrinskij 1887, 76, fig. on p. 77; Minns 1913, 193, fig. 85; Rostowzew 1931, 425, Achaemenid; Onajko 1970, 119, no. 849, pl. XVIII.

The closest parallel is a chalcedony cylinder seal in Berlin attributed as an item of the Achaemenid court style: Boardman 2000, 159-160, fig. 5.14; Boardman 2001, 351, pl. 831; Cat. Speyer 2006, 45.

Greco-Persian seals most probably found in the territory of the Bosporan Kingdom

16. From the collection of A. Zvenigorodskij (Kerch), acquired by the State Hermitage Museum in 1880.

Cylinder seal. A Persian king and defeated enemies.

Chalcedony.

**Date:** late fifth to early fourth century BC.

State Hermitage, inv. ГЛ 501.

**Literature:** Lukonin 1977, 86 (ill.); Nikulina 1994, 419; Boardman 2000, 159, 160, fig. 5.6; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 30, no. 6.

17. Acquired in Kerch by N.P. Kondakov.

Scaraboid. Two Persian hunters in a chariot. The Cambridge Group.

Discoloured stone. Gold hoop, circular in section.

**Date:** fifth to fourth century BC.

State Hermitage, inv. Ж 428.

**Literature:** Nikulina 1994, fig. 511; Boardman 2001, 355, pl. 928; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 32, no. 17.

18. From the collection of A.V. Novikov (Kerch), acquired by the State Hermitage Museum in 1900.

Scaraboid. A Persian archer. The Pendants Group.

Discoloured stone.

**Date:** first half of the fourth century BC.

State Hermitage, inv. ГЛ 895.

**Literature:** Nikulina 1994, fig. 515; Boardman 2001, 353, pl. 887; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 33, no. 25.

19. From the collection of E.M. Kir'jakov (Kerch).

Scaraboid. A Persian female with vases.

Discoloured stone.

**Date:** fourth century BC.

State Hermitage, inv. Ж 427.

**Literature:** Knipovich 1926, pl. III.5; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 33, no. 24.

## Notes

- \* I would like to express my gratitude to Leonid Jablonskij (Institute of Archaeology, Moscow) for the supply of photographs and to Margaret Miller (University of Sydney) for revision of the English version of the text.
- 1 Koshelenko 1999, 130-142.
- 2 Molev 2001.
- 3 Fedoseev 1997, 310-319.
- 4 Fedoseev 1997, 310-311.
- 5 Maksimova 1956, 190-196; Fedoseev 1997, 310.
- 6 Fedoseev 1997, 311-312.
- 7 Fedoseev 1997, 312-313.
- 8 Melikian-Chirvani 1993, 111-130.
- 9 Vlasova 2001a, 20-27.
- 10 CR St Petersburg 1877, 15-16, pl. I.5; Smirnov 1909, pl. IV, no. 15; Ghirshman 1964, 358, fig. 462; Anfimov 1987, 106-107; Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989, 265, fig. 32; Melikian-Chirvani 1996, 98-99; Vlasova 2000, 55, no. 3; Vlasova 2001a, 20-23, fig. 1.3, 25, no. 1; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 28-29, no. 4 with bibliography; Cat. St Petersburg 2007, 279, no. 315.
- 11 MMA Bull. Spring 1992, 16.
- 12 Ivanov 1975, 20; Marazov 1978, 50-53; Luschey 1983, 326, no. B13, pl. 59.4; Cat. Saint Louis 1998, 225, no. 176; Cat. Bonn 2004, 195, no. 226d; Cat. Paris 2006, 76-77, no. 15.
- 13 MMA Bull. Spring 1992, 16.
- 14 Cat. Berlin 1978, no. 177; Marazov 1978, 54, fig. 49; MMA Bull. Spring 1992, 16; Koch 1992, 185, pl. 22; Cat. New York 2000, 154, fig. 68; Miller 2007, 56-57, fig. 7.
- 15 MMA Bull. Spring 1992, 16.
- 16 Sotheby's, New York, 7 December 2001. *Egyptian, Classical and Western Asiatic Antiquities Including Property from the Collection of the Late Marion Schuster, Lausanne*. Sale no. 7742, no. 155.
- 17 Cat. Vienna 2000, 206, no. 118.
- 18 Cat. Paris 1961, no. 684, pl. LV; Ghirshman 1964, 255, fig. 308; Cat. Vienna 2000, 200, no. 114.
- 19 Antikenmuseum Berlin 1988, 329, no. 1; Cat. Berlin 2002, 140, no. 39; Cat. Speyer 2006, 188-189, fig. 1.
- 20 Amandry 1959, 50, pl. 27.2-3; Boardman 2000, 188, fig. 5.70; Cat. London 2005, 125, no. 128.
- 21 Waldbaum 1983, 151, no. 996, pl. 58.
- 22 Filow 1934, 46, no. 14, figs. 55-59, 199-210, pl. III; Marazov 1978, 14-18; Luschey 1983, 323, no. A2 with bibliography, pl. 59.4; Pfrommer 1990a, 193, pl. 40.2, n. 13; Cat. Saint Louis 1998, no. 117; von Gall 1999, 154, 156-157, figs. 7-8; Boardman 2000, 190, fig. 5.71; Zournatzi 2000, 684, fig. 1, 685, 687. On the dating of the burial, see Pfrommer 1990a, 193, n. 15.
- 23 See n. 14.
- 24 Smirnov 1909, pl. V.17; Lukonin 1977, 85 (ill.); Marazov 1978, 12-13, fig. 4, 55 (erroneously described by I. Marazov as a rhyton from Ust'-Kamenogorsk); Luschey 1983, 318, pl. 60.1; Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989, 88, fig. 21; Miller 1993, 123, pl. 24.4.
- 25 von Bothmer 1984, no. 49.

26 Waldbaum 1983, no. 973, pl. 57. On parallels in the Lydian pottery repertoire, see also Waldbaum 1983, 148.

27 Miller 1993, 126, pl. 29.1.

28 Calmeyer 1993, 132, pl. 45 (top).

29 Vickers 2000. See the fragment of the relief with Delegation XV: Calmeyer 1993, 136-137, pl. 47 (below); Cat. London 2005, 106, fig. 47 (Parthians or Bactrians).

30 Khoshtaria et al. 1972, 115, no. 44, fig. 60; Gigolashvili 1990a, 316-317; Guigolachvili 1990b, 279-280, 313, fig. 32; Vickers 2000, 263, fig. 2.

31 Archibald 1998, 181, fig. 7.5 (top right); Vickers 2000, 261-262, fig. 1.

32 Cat. Paris 1961, no. 664, pl. LVII; Ghirshman 1962, 77, fig. 24; Ghirshman 1964, 242, fig. 290; Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989, 86, fig. 19; Koch 1992, 191, fig. 140; Cat. Vienna 2000, 200-201, no. 113; Cat. London 2005, 121, no. 118.

33 Dalton 1964, no. 178, pl. XXII; Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989, 87, fig. 20; Miller 1993, 123, pl. 24.5; Boardman 2000, 184-185, fig. 5.66; Cat. London 2005, 122, no. 119.

34 Cat. New York 1992, 230-231, no. 158; Boardman 2000, 81, fig. 2.66, 246, n. 130 with various examples.

35 Cat. Miho 2002, no. 107.

36 Cat. Vienna 1999, 63-64, no. 26.

37 In general on this class of vessels, see Amandry 1959, 38-56; Ghirshman 1962, 79; Pfrommer 1990a, 191-209; Boardman 2000, 188-189, 246, n. 129. Such a silver-gilt vessel of unknown provenance is kept in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Pfrommer 1990a, 191-192, pls. 36-39.2, 44; Boardman 2000, 191, fig. 5.72). Another piece, with the body decorated with vertical fluting and allegedly found in Iraq, was kept in the Pomerance Collection (Cat. Paris 1961, no. 685; Cat. Brooklyn 1966, no. 59; Pfrommer 1990a, 195, pl. 41.1). A further similar silver vase, with vertical fluting on the body and allegedly found in southwestern Iran, was kept in the Borowski Collection (Basel) and acquired by the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin in 1967 (Cat. Paris 1961, no. 677, pl. LIV; Ghirshman 1962, 79, fig. 31; Ghirshman 1964, 271, fig. 333; Cat. Berlin 2002, 138-140, no. 38; Cat. Speyer 2006, 132-133, figs. 8-9).

38 See n. 22.

39 Amandry 1959, 48-50, 52-54, pl. 24; Cat. Paris 1961, no. 675, pl. LIII; Summerer 2003, 32, fig. 10.

40 Cat. St Petersburg 1993, no. 205; Cat. London 1994, no. 205; Cat. Berlin 1996, no. 205; Summerer 2003, 30-31, fig. 9.

41 Calmeyer 1993, 152-153, pl. 44 (above); Cat. London 2005, 106, fig. 46; Cat. Speyer 2006, 132, fig. 7; Miller 2007, 45-46, fig. 1.

42 Calmeyer 1993, 153, pl. 43 (below left); von Gall 1999, 158, fig. 9; Boardman 2000, 188, fig. 5.69; Summerer 2003, 33; Cat. Speyer 2006, 198, fig. 5.

43 Filow 1934, 201-202; see also von Gall 1999, 154.

44 Filow 1934, 202.

45 Pfrommer 1990a, 205, 208-209.

46 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 89, no. 35; Miller 2007, 50-52, fig. 2, 54-55, fig. 5.

47 Toker 1992, 173, 223, no. 152; Miller 2007, 52-53, fig. 4.

48 See nn. 22, 40.

49 Moshkova 1981, 171-175, figs. 1-4.

50 On the date of the burial, see, for example, E.V. Vlasova, in Cat. Bonn 1997, 89.

51 Maximova 1928, 665-666, fig. 22; Ghirshman 1964, 358, fig. 463; Artamonow 1970, pls. 183-184; Cat. New York 1975, 108, no. 67; Lukonin 1977, 77 (ill.), Alekseev 1984; Chernenko 1984, 48-50, fig. 25; Galanina & Grach 1986, pl. 220; Alekseev et al. 1991, 234, no. 192; Cat. Hamburg 1993, 104-105, no. 54; Cat. Zurich 1993, 134-135, no. 69; Cat. New York 2000, 233, no. 163; Cat. Milan 2001, 122, no. 71; Alekseyev 2005, 55, fig. 4.5; Alekseev 2007, 250, fig. 7; Cat. St Petersburg 2007, 276, no. 312.

52 Artamonow 1970, pls. 183, 185; Cat. New York 1975, 109, no. 68; Galanina & Grach 1986, pls. 221-222; Alekseev et al. 1991, 230, 234, no. 191; Cat. Hamburg 1993, 104-107, no. 55; Cat. Zurich 1993, 114-115, no. 60; Cat. New York 2000, 233-235, no. 164; Cat. Milan 2001, 122-123, no. 72; Alekseev 2007, 252-253, fig. 9.

53 Nefedkin 1998, 71-76; Pfrommer 2002, 267-274; Alekseev 2006, 166; Alekseev 2007, 254.

54 Chernenko 1975, 163; Chernenko 1984, 49.

55 Alekseev 1984, 38-41; Chernenko 1984, 49; Alekseev et al. 1991, 99-102; cf. Alekseev 2006, 166; Alekseev 2007, 254.

56 Lukonin 1977, 77.

57 Chernenko 1984, 49-50; Alekseev 1984, 38-41; Alekseev et al. 1991, 99-103, fig. 69.

58 Minasjan 1991, 382.

59 Boardman 2000, 72, fig. 2.56a; Cat. London 2005, 53, fig. 44.

60 Cat. London 2005, 233, no. 430.

61 Cat. London 2005, 234, no. 433.

62 Ghirshman 1964, 160-165, fig. 211, 170, fig. 216, 193, fig. 240; Cat. London 2005, 78-81, no. 39; Cat. Speyer 2006, 124-125, 148-149.

63 Cat. London 2005, 84, no. 46; Cat. Speyer 2006, 114, fig. 1.

64 Maximova 1928, 665-666; Alekseev et al. 1991, 100-102.

65 Dalton 1964, no. 24, pl. X; Litvinsky 2001, 157-158, fig. 9; Cat. London 2005, 220-221, no. 396.

66 Chernenko 1984, 49; Alekseev et al. 1991, 99.

67 Artamonow 1970, pl. 250; Marazov 1978, 53-55, fig. 48; Cat. Leningrad 1985, 22, no. 14; Galanina & Grach 1986, fig. 211; Cat. New York 2000, 210-211, no. 147; Cat. Milan 2001, 106, no. 55; Fedoseev 2007, 990, 1010, figs. 4, 8.

68 See, for example, Treister 2005, 58.

69 Bidzilja 1971, 49, fig. 4; Orfèvrerie ancienne 1975, n.p.

70 Alekseev et al. 1991, 90-91, fig. 63; Alekseev 1993, 72-75; Schneider & Zazoff 1994, 196-197, fig. 36; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 42-43, nos. 45-46; Alekseyev 2005, 54, n. 106, 189; Cat. St Petersburg 2007, 117, no. 69.

71 See n. 37.

72 Smirnov 1934, 24-30, no. 26, pl. III.26; Ghirshman 1964, 265, fig. 325; Talbot Rice 1965, 23, fig. 12; Lordkipanidze 1972, 55; Gagoshidze 1985, 58-59, fig. 22; Dschwachischwili & Abramischwili 1986, figs. 38-39; Lordkipanidze 1991, 123, pl. 54.1-2; Boardman 1994, 341, n. 111; Cat. Saarbrücken 1995, no. 299, fig. 162; Boardman 2000, 196, 198, fig. 5.82; Korol'kova 2003, 54, fig. 4.1; Bill 2003, 211, no. 81.33, pl. 122.1; Cat. London 2005, 47, fig. 36; Knauss 2006, 81, 83, fig. 2.

73 Smirnov 1934, XX.

74 Lordkipanidze 1989, 323, n. 13; Lordkipanidze 1994, 153, n. 40; Bill 2003, 210-212, no. 81, pls. 121-125.

75 Lordkipanidze 1971, 270-271, fig. 6; Lordkipanidze 1972, 54-55, fig. 39; Khosh-taria et al. 1972, 114, no. 2, fig. 39; Chkonia 1977, 96-100, 189, figs. 85-90; Chkonia

1981, no. 16, pls. 8-9; Dschwachischwili & Abramischwili 1986, figs. 13-14; Lordkipanidze 1989, col. pl. XIII; Chkonia 1990, 291; Tchkonia 1990, 262, 304, fig. 18; Lordkipanidze 1991, 123, pl. 51.9-10; Boardman 1994, 220; Cat. Saarbrücken 1995, no. 273, fig. 146; Lordkipanidze 1995, 371, col. pl. II.3; Chqonia 1996, 46, 48, fig. 5; Vani 9 1996, pl. 9 (below right); Čkonia 2002, 269-270; Korol'kova 2003, 54, fig. 4.1; Bill 2003, 81-82, 231, no. 7, fig. 11.6, pl. 163.10-13; Cat. Berlin 2007, 38-39.

76 See, for example: frontlets from Biniova Mogila (Cat. Saint Louis 1998, 98, no. 6); Dolna Koznitsa (Cat. Saint Louis 1998, 104, no. 15), Kraleva (Cat. Saint Louis 1998, 118, no. 37); Goliamata Kosmatka (Cat. Paris 2006, 154, no. 56).

77 Onajko 1970, 101, no. 410, pl. XVI; Mantsevich 1987, 39, no. 12; Pfrommer 1987, 243, KaBT13.

78 Anfimov 1966, 22, fig. 5.

79 Pfrommer 1987, 52-54, 241-245.

80 Pfrommer 1987, 53, 243, KaBT13.

81 Pfrommer 1987, 243, KaBT17. A.P. Mantsevich (1987, 39) compares the shape of the bowl from Solokha with those from Raduvene, which seems erroneous.

82 Cat. Cologne 1979, 117, no. 220; Pfrommer 1987, 244, KaBT20; Cat. Montreal 1987, 175-177, nos. 261, 264, 268. See also a similar bowl of unknown provenance in the Historical Museum, Sofia (Cat. Bonn 2004, 147, no. 200).

83 Çokay-Kepçe 2006, 152, no. MT1, 184.

84 Pfrommer 1987, 220, KaB A 68-70, pl. 42c-d; Cat. London 2005, 117, nos. 106-108.

85 Pharmakowsky 1913, 185-186, fig. 14; Shkorpil 1916, 30, fig. 16; Lushey 1939, 78, no. 34; Maksimova 1979, 72, 74, fig. 23, A2; Pfrommer 1987, 155, n. 1013; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 106, 122, F2C16; Treister 2003, 58-60, fig. 7.

86 Themelis & Touratsoglou 1997, B 18-19, pls. 66-7; Tsigarida & Ignatiadou 2000, 70, fig. 70.

87 Delemen 2006, 260-261, fig. 9.

88 Strong 1966, 99; von Bothmer 1984, 47, no. 75; Sideris 2000, 17, 19.

89 Cat. New York 1992, 244, no. 170; Cat. London 2005, 178, no. 277.

90 Cat. Toledo 1977, no. 12; von Bothmer 1984, no. 79; Pfrommer 1987, 249, KBk 19, pl. 50c-d.

91 Strong 1966, 99.

92 Pfrommer 1987, 154-155, n. 1013.

93 Pfrommer 1987, 267, pls. 11, 14a, KTK 8.

94 Pfrommer 1987, 267, KTK 10, pl. 13b.

95 Woolley 1962, 105, pl. 32, no. 9; Abka'i-Kavari 1988, 121-122, F2C8.

96 Dalton 1964, 9, no. 19, pl. V; Cat. London 2005, 116, no. 105.

97 See, in general, Archibald 1998, 262-264, figs. 11.2-3, 319-321. Alexandrovo: one of the bowls is additionally decorated with a silver-gilt medallion in the interior (Cat. Montreal 1987, 204, no. 335; Cat. Venice 1989, no. 143/2; Cat. Florence 1997, no. 191; Archibald 1998, 319, pls. 19-20); the other is inscribed as a gift of Cotys I, 383-359 BC (Cat. Montreal 1987, 204, no. 334; Cat. Venice 1989, no. 143/1; Cat. Florence 1997, no. 190; Archibald 1998, 319, pl. 21). Stjanovo (formerly Raduvene): Cat. Montreal 1987, 176, no. 265; Cat. Venice 1989, no. 142/2; Archibald 1998, 320, pl. 28. Rogozen Treasure: Fol et al. 1989, nos. 40-41.

98 Galanina 1997, 212.

99 Alekseev (2003, 104, n. 69) suggests that most of them were manufactured either at the very beginning of Assurbanipal rule or even during the rule of Assarachadon.

100 Galanina 1997, 102.

101 Kisel' 2003, 100-103.

102 Vakhtina 2000, 57-58.

103 Mantsevich 1958a, 196-202; Kisel' 2003, 80-83, 133, no. 41; Alekseev 2003, 382, fig. 10.16.

104 Bandurovskij et al. 1998, 148, fig. 41; Bandurovskij & Chernenko 1999, 27; Bandurovskij & Bujnov 2000, 65-66, fig. 541; Kisel' 2003, 81-83, 133, no. 42; Alekseev 2003, 382, fig. 10.15; Chernenko 2004, 95-96, fig. 2.

105 Cat. London 2005, 122, no. 120. See also a bronze rhyton with the terminal in the form of the forepart of a bull and allegedly from Syria, now in Berlin (Cat. Berlin 2002, 140-141, no. 40).

106 Cat. New York 2000, 154-155, no. 94; Cat. Milan 2001, 242, no. 205; Cat. Moscow 2003, 26 (below).

107 Gorbunova 1971, 20-23, fig. 5; Cat. Leningrad 1985, 13, no. 1 with bibliography; Vickers & Gill 1994, 130-132, n. 117 with bibliography, fig. 5.20; Cat. Malibu 2007, 219, no. 119.

108 A gold one with the protome of a dog: Galanina & Grach 1986, fig. 111; Cat. Bonn 1997, 89-90, no. 17; Vlasova 2001a, 21, fig. 2, 22, 24, fig. 4.1, 25-26, no. 2; Cat. Amsterdam 2004, 51, fig. 25; Cat. Malibu 2007, 219-220, no. 120. A gold rhyton with the terminal in the form of a ram's head: Galanina & Grach 1986, fig. 110; Vlasova 2001a, 22, 24, fig. 4.2, 26, no. 3. A gold and silver rhyton with the terminal in the form of a lion's head: Vlasova 2001a, 22, 24, fig. 4.3, 26, no. 4. On the dating of the burial, see Vlasova, in Cat. Bonn 1997, 89; Vlasova 2001b, 130-131.

109 See n. 22.

110 See Filow 1934, 39-58. On the dating of the burial, see n. 22.

111 See n. 12.

112 Ivanov 1975, 14-21; Cat. Saint Louis 1998, 222-225, nos. 173-177; Archibald 1998, 264-265; Cat. Bonn 2004, 195-196, nos. 226a-e; Cat. Paris 2006, 68-78, nos. 12-16.

113 A rare exclusion is the find from Smela, see Appendix 1, no. 14. Also, one of the glass scaraboids of the eight found in burial no. 2 of barrow no. 21 near the village of Vishnevoe represents a subject which allows us to consider it as Achaemenid: a man leading a loaded donkey (Boltrik & Fialko 2007, 82-84, fig. 10.5). Cf. a gold plaque showing a Bactrian leading a camel from Takhti Sangin (Litvinsky & Pichikyan 1995, 196-220).

114 A finger ring with an image of a flying duck, late fifth to early fourth century BC (State Hermitage, inv. Дн 1863 I/182; Nikulina 1994, fig. 64). A finger ring with an image of a standing bull, first half of the fourth century BC (State Hermitage, inv. Дн 1863 I/384; Nikulina 1994, fig. 215). A finger ring with an image of a dog gnawing a bone, first half of the fourth century BC (State Hermitage, inv. Дн 1863 I/385; Nikulina 1994, fig. 271). Also found there was a cut-off chalcedony scaraboid with an image of a double-headed capricorn of east Greek workmanship, first half of the fourth century BC (Moscow, State Historical Museum, inv. 44615; Nikulina 1994, fig. 301).

115 Cat. London 2005, 189.

116 Reinach 1892, pl. XVI, 10; Boardman 1970, pl. 1.5; Nikulina 1994, fig. 447; Boardman 2000, 166-167, fig. 5.27; Boardman 2001, 351, pl. 834; Cat. St Petersburg 2004, 31, no. 12.

117 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 140, no. 95.

118 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, nos. 97-100, 102.

119 Curtis 1925, no. 98.

120 A pair of omega-shaped bracelets with gazelles' heads (Khoshtaria et al. 1972, 115, fig. 49; Chkonia 1981, 144-145, no. 54, pl. 27; Dshawachischwili & Abramischwili 1986, 22 (below); Rehm 1992, 66, no. A.91, fig. 35; Lordkipanidze 1995, 372, col. pl. V.2; Cat. Saarbrücken 1995, 130, fig. 123, 298, no. 276; Cat. Berlin 2007, 47). Omega-shaped bracelet with the hoop of rectangular section and lion-head terminals (Khoshtaria et al. 1972, 115, fig. 50; Chkonia 1981, 144-145, no. 55, pl. 28; Rehm 1993, 105-106, pl. 17.1; Lordkipanidze 1995, 372, col. pl. V.1 (above); Cat. Saarbrücken 1995, 149, fig. 148 (above), 298, no. 277; Knauss 2006, 85, fig. 4 (left); Cat. Berlin 2007, 48). Omega-shaped bracelet with the hoop of rectangular section and bull-head terminals (Khoshtaria et al. 1972, 115, fig. 50; Chkonia 1981, 144-145, no. 56, pl. 28; Rehm 1993, 106, pl. 17.2; Cat. Saarbrücken 1995, 149, fig. 148 (below), 298, no. 277; Lordkipanidze 1995, 372, col. pl. V.1 (below); Knauss 2006, 85, fig. 4 (right); Cat. Berlin 2007, 49). The shapes and the rectangular sections of the two latter bracelets are comparable with the finds from Corinthian Isthmus (Rehm 1992, 47, no. I.7; Koch 1992, 220, pl. 26; Rehm 1993, 105, pl. 16) and from Ikiztepe in eastern Lydia (Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 178-179, no. 130; Meriçboyu 2001, 96-97).

121 Chkonia 1981, 40-46, 144, 151, pl. 24, no. 49; Lordkipanidze 1991, pl. 53.1a; Lordkipanidze 1995, 379, col. pl. VI.1-2; Rehm 1993, 107, pl. 17.4-5; Dshawachischwili & Abramischwili 1986, 21; Boardman 2000, 196-197, fig. 5.80; Boardman 2002, 19-22; Cat. Berlin 2007, 46.

122 Gamkrelidze 1998, 211-216; Knauss 1999, 218-222; Knauss 2006, 82, 84, fig. 3.

123 Tsetskhladze 1993/1994, 31; Braund 1994, 122-127. On the problem of the borders of Achaemenid satrapies in the Trans-Caucasian area see, for example, Lordkipanidze 2000, 11; Lordkipanidze 2001, 182-185; Jacobs 2000, 93-102; Ter-Martirosyan 2000, 243-252.

124 It was originally dated by Ya.I. Smirnov within the frame of the sixth to fourth century BC; cf. Lordkipanidze 2001, 182: late fourth to early third century BC; cf. Lordkipanidze 1989, 323, n. 13; Lordkipanidze 1994, 153, n. 40: second half of the fourth or early third century BC. On the silver phialae from Akhalgori, see Smirnov 1934, 44-47, nos. 61-65, pls. VIII-XII; Luschey 1939, 61, nos. EB4-5; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 106, nos. F1c14-15, 117-118, fig. 2; Lordkipanidze 2001, 166-171, figs. 8-11; Knauss 2006, 81-82, fig. 1. On the earrings with horse pendants, see n. 72.

125 Uvarova 1900, 139-155; Tallgren 1930, 109-182. See especially a fifth century BC silver phiale with an Aramaic inscription, allegedly of Asia Minor production (Uvarova 1900, 140, fig. 119; Smirnov 1909, pl. 3, no. 13; Tallgren 1930, 116-118, no. 1, fig. 4; Luschey 1939, 61, no. EB3; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 106, no. F1c16; 117-118, fig. 2; Boardman 2000, 191-192, fig. 5.73, 247, n. 133 with bibliography; Lordkipanidze 2001, 168, n. 101).

126 Dzhavakhishvili 2007, 117-128.

127 Arakelyan 1971, 143-158; Lukonin 1977, 72 (ill.), 76 (ill.), 80 (ill.); Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989, 262-264, figs. 30-31a-b; Cat. Nantes 1996, 197-201, nos. 181-183; Hacatryan & Markarian 2003, 9-20; Khachatryan & Margarjan 2003, 114-122. On a rhyton with a bull protome of possible Asia Minor manufacture, see also Pfrommer 1983, 270-271, figs. 34-35, 279; Summerer 2006, 135-143, pls. 1.2, 2.2. J. Boardman (2000, 187, fig. 5.68) compares the style of the latter with that of Greco-Persian seals.

128 Tiratsjan 1968, 190-198, fig. 1; Abrahamian 1983, fig. 11; Cat. Nantes 1996, 196, no. 180 with bibliography; Boardman 2000, 194.

129 Total of five vessels: three from cache no. 2 in barrow no. 1; one from cache no. 1 in the same barrow; and one from barrow no. 4.

130 Total of three vessels: two from barrow no. 1; and one from barrow B.

131 See n. 49.

132 Savel'eva & Smirnov 1972, 115, fig. 5.

133 Cat. New York 2000, 152-153, no. 93; Cat. Milan 2001, 240-241, no. 204; Cat. Moscow 2003, 18 above; Treister 2008, 160-162, fig. 7.

134 Cat. Vienna 2000, 200, 204-205, no. 116.

135 It is maintained that originally the treasure consisted of ca. 360 silver vessels, some of which found their way to different museums in Iran. Several pieces are in the Miho Museum, two vessels are in the Louvre and one is in the Metropolitan Museum. Individual pieces have been sold at auction: by Sotheby's (1996) and Christie's (1999) in New York; and Bonhams in London (2003). A considerable part of the treasure is most probably kept in the collection of H. Mahboubian (London) and has been published by the owner (Mahboubian 1995). On the Western Cave Treasure, see, for example, Van Rijn; Muhly 2004.

136 Jablonskij & Meshcherjakov 2007, 57, fig. 3, col. pl. 1; Cat. Orenburg 2008, 90, no. 5; Yablonsky 2007, 88, 93, fig. 7; Balakhvantsev & Jablonskij 2008, 29-38; Treister 2008, 158-160, fig. 6.

137 See n. 37.

138 See n. 37.

139 See n. 37.

140 See n. 40.

141 Filow 1934, 200, fig. 212; Reade 1986, 80, no. 24, pl. II; Cat. London 2005, 125, no. 129.

142 In contrast to the vessels shown in the hands of the Lydians, which demonstrate vertical fluting on the body and rim, decorated with a pearl pattern at the junction of the body and the neck (Ghirshman 1964, 174, fig. 220; Calmeyer 1993, 152-153, pl. 44 (above); Cat. London 2005, 106, fig. 46; Cat. Speyer 2006, 132, fig. 7), the amphora-rhyta in the hands of the Armenians have undecorated bodies (Ghirshman 1964, 176, fig. 222; Luschey 1983, 314-315, pl. 59.1; Calmeyer 1993, 153, pl. 43 (below left); von Gall 1999, 158, fig. 9; Boardman 2000, 188, fig. 5.69; Summerer 2003, 33; Cat. Speyer 2006, 198, fig. 5). Thus, it may be maintained that the reliefs from Persepolis could reflect the regional peculiarities of the decoration of the vessels, and that the vessel from Filippovka demonstrates clear parallels with the vessels held by the members of the Lydian delegation.

143 Cat. New York 2000, 156, no. 95; Cat. Milan 2001, 243, no. 206; Cat. Moscow 2003, 27 (below); Treister 2008, 162-163.

144 Miller 1993, 126, pl. 29.1; Platz-Horster 2005, 299-300, figs. 9-10; Cat. Speyer 2006, 183.

145 Pfrommer 1985, 14-16, figs. 6-9; Pfrommer 1987, 86-91, pls. 60-61; Pfrommer 1990a, 207-208, pl. 43.

146 See, in general, Archibald 1998, 266-267, fig. 11.7. See, for example, on the jugs from the Rogozen Treasure (Fol et al. 1989, nos. 145-149; Cat. Bonn 2004, 294, nos. 251-52); on the jug from the barrow near Rosovets (Filow 1934, 170, pl. XI.1; Luschey 1983, 328, B19, fig. 62.4 Luschey considers the shape of the vessel to be Achaemenid; Cat. Bonn 2004, 232, no. 238a); on the jug from Kirkclareli (Pfrommer 1985, 14-15, fig. 6). See also a silver jug from a set of silverware of the second half

of the fourth century BC in the Fleischman Collection (Cat. Malibu 1994, 75-76, no. 31B).

147 Cat. Toledo 1977, 42, no. 12.

148 Fol et al. 1989, nos. 82, 97; Cat. Saint Louis 1998, 156, nos. 85-86.

149 Fol et al. 1989, nos. 145-149; Cat. Bonn 2004, 294, nos. 251-52

150 Cat. New York 2000, 154-155, no. 94; Cat. Milan 2001, 242, no. 205; Cat. Moscow 2003, 26 (below); Treister 2008, 163-164, fig. 8.

151 See n. 12.

152 Cat. New York 2000, 88-89, no. 19; Cat. Milan 2001, 191, no. 130; Cat. Moscow 2003, 15 (above); Treister 2008, 164.

153 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 108, no. 63.

154 Özgen & Öztürk 1996, 133, no. 88.

155 Moorey 1988, 231-246.

156 See the silver-and-gold greaves from Mogilanska Mogila near Vratsa (Cat. Saint Louis 1998, 159, no. 89) and from Agighiol (Cat. Frankfurt 1994, 162, no. 49.3), and a head-shaped vase from Mastjugino barrow (Mantsevich 1958b, 317-333).

157 Treister 2009 a; Treister 2009 b.

158 Rostovtsev 1918, 6, no. 7, pl. I.2; Rostovtzeff 1922, 123, pl. 24.1 (below); Ebert 1927/1928, 317, pl. 112Ac; Luschey 1939, 43, no. GB 25; Iessen 1952, 217-218, fig. 9; Savel'eva & Smirnov 1972, 119; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 107, 110, 125-126, no. F3c16; Mordvintseva 1996, 156, fig. 1 (below); Berlizov 1997, 105, fig. 6; Cat. Mantua 1998, no. 456; Zuev 2000, 309, 314-317, pl. III.1-3; Zuev 2003, 21-22, pl. 11; Livshits 2001, 161 (with erroneous information that the phiale was stolen from the Museum of Kazakhstan), 162 (ill.); Livshits & Zuev 2004, 4, fig. 2; Treister 2008, 146-155, figs. 3-4. On the inscription, see Livshits 2001, 162 (below); Livshits & Zuev 2004, 10; cf. Meshcherjakov et al. 2006, 112-113 with the dating of the burial not later than the third century BC.

159 Rostovtsev 1918, 6, no. 7, pl. I.1; Rostovtzeff 1922, 123, pl. 24.1 (above); Schefold 1938, 13; Luschey 1939, 61, no. EB7, 72-73; Iessen 1952, 217-218, fig. 10; Savel'eva & Smirnov 1972, 119; Pfrommer 1987, 98, nn. 582-583, 158; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 107, 108, 125-126, no. F3c17; Mordvintseva 1996, 156, fig. 1 (above); Berlizov 1997, 105, fig. 7; Zuev 2000, 309, 314-317, pl. IV.1-2; Zuev 2003, 21-22, pl. 8; Livshits 2001, 163 (ill.); Livshits & Zuev 2004, 4, fig. 1; Treister 2008, 146-155, figs. 1-2. On the inscription, see Livshits 2001, 163 (below); Livshits & Zuev 2004.

160 Balakhvantsev & Jablonskij 2006, 98-106; Treister 2008, 155-158, fig. 5.

161 Treister 2008, 158; Treister 2009 a.

162 Pfrommer 1987, 56-61, 234-236, nos. Kab M1-16; Archibald 1989, 14; Archibald 1998, 169-170; Zimmermann 1998, 36-42, 160-161, nos. BM 1-19.

163 From the late fourth century BC burial in Buccino near Salerno (Cat. Paestum 1996, no. 37.37; Cipriani et al. 1996, 21; Cat. Trieste 2002, 260-261, no. 88.27).

164 From the treasure of the second half of the fourth century BC found near Vurbitsa in the Shumen region (Filow 1934, 173, fig. 189; Pfrommer 1987, 70, 232, no. KaB H 15; Cat. Cologne 1979, no. 317; Cat. Montreal 1987, no. 365; Cat. Venice 1989, 185, no. 147.1, 193 (ill.); Archibald 1989, 13-14, fig. 1Bf; Cat. Florence 1997, no. 98; Archibald 1998, 270-271, fig. 11.10-11, pl. 33; Zimmermann 1998, 37-40, 161, no. BM 18).

165 Treister 2008, 157-158; Treister 2009 b.

166 Jablonskij & Meshcherjakov 2007, 58, fig. 5, col. pl. 1; Cat. Orenburg 2008, 81, no. 2.

167 Jablonskij & Meshcherjakov 2007, 57-58, fig. 4, col. pl. 2; Yablonsky 2007, 89, 95, fig. 9; Cat. Orenburg 2008, 88-89, no. 14.

168 Dalton 1964, 37, nos. 136-137, pl. XX.

169 Savel'eva & Smirnov 1972, 115-116, fig. 6; Smirnov & Popov 1972, 221 (ill.).

170 See n. 167.

171 Dalton 1964, no. 136, pl. XX; Rehm 1992, 80, 86, no. C4, fig. 59.

172 Rehm 1992, 79, 86, no. C3, fig. 58.

173 Akurgal 1961, 173, fig. 117; Pfrommer 1990b, 342, no. TA 121; Rehm 1992, 43-44, 70, no. A.117, fig. 52.

174 Dalton 1964, no. 116, pl. I; Pfrommer 1990b, 341, no. TA 116; Koch 1992, 220, 222, pl. 27; Rehm 1992, 44-47, 70, no. A.118, fig. 53; Cat. London 2005, 138-139, no. 153. See also the same modelling of hindquarters on the bracelet with terminals in the form of winged goats from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton 1964, no. 137, pl. XX; Cat. London 2005, 142-143, no. 168).

175 See, for example, a gold torque from the burial on the acropolis of Susa (Cat. New York 1992, 245-246, no. 171; Cat. London 2005, 174-175, no. 270). Gold torque or bracelets from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton 1964, nos. 117-118, 125, fig. 65, pl. XVII; Cat. London 2005, 139, nos. 154-156).

176 Rostovtsev 1918, 21, pl. VI.10-12; Iessen 1952, 217, fig. 8; Savel'eva & Smirnov 1972, 119; Cat. Mantua 1998, no. 259.

177 Balakhvantsev & Jablonskij 2007, 145, figs. 2-3; Cat. Orenburg 2008, 131, no. 113.

178 Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, inv. 15124 (Bingöl 1999, 136, no. 147). Bingöl compares the image with that on the Achaemenid bulla from Daskyleion (Akurgal 1961, 174, fig. 123). See also a contour gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton 1964, no. 38, pl. XIII).

179 Ivanov et al. 1984, 20, no. 17, fig. 21; Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989, 267, fig. 35; Rehm 1992, 125, 138, no. E.84, 400, fig. 92.

180 Cat. Vienna 1999, 65-67, no. 28; Cat. Miho 2002, no. 33; Bernard & Inagaki 2000, 1371-1437; Bernard & Inagaki 2002, 207-210.

181 Ghirshman 1964, fig. 332; Zahn 1967 [add to bibliography], 18-19, fig. 3; Cat. New York 1992, no. 178; Rehm 1992, 154, 171 F.106, fig. 132; Cat. London 2005, 174-175, no. 269.

182 Cat. Berlin 1978, no. 178; Musche 1992, 271-272, type 6.2.2; Rehm 1992, 148, 169, F.93, fig. 120; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Spring 1992. *Ancient Art. Gifts from the Norbert Schimmel Collection*, XLIX, 4, 18, inv. 1989.281.33; Koch 1992, 222, pl. 32.

183 See Cat. New York 1992, 242; Cat. London 2005, 174.

184 Elayi & Elayi 1992, 265-270.

185 Cat. Orenburg 2008, 99, no. 42.

186 Sevinç et al. 1998, 312, figs. 8-9, 320, no. 17.

187 See, for example, a rhyton from the former N. Schimmel Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; see n. 14.

188 See nn. 22, 37-40, 136 (except for the vessel in the Pomerance Collection). See also the handles of the gold vessel from Filippovka (see n. 133) and a silver handle from a treasure found at Babylon (see n. 141).

189 See, for example, the gold omega-shaped bracelets from Filippovka burial no. 4 barrow no. 4/2006 (see n. 167); the gold torque from the same burial (see n. 166); on the gold bracelets with lion-griffin terminals from Dağ Kızılca Köyü near Manisa, see n. 173; and from the Oxus Treasure, see n. 174.

190 See the sculpted handles in the form of ibexes in Berlin and Paris (see nn. 19-20); a silver-gilt vessel in a private collection (Ghirshman 1964, 254-255, fig. 307); a silver handle in the form of a stag from the Siberian Collection (Rudenko 1962, 54, pl. XII, 1; Ivanov et al. 1984, 20, no. 18, fig. 12).

191 Cat. New York 2000, 80-81, nos. 5-6; Cat. Orenburg 2008, 86, no. 9, 98, nos. 39-40, 118, no. 84.

192 Akishev 1978, 105, pl. 24 (right).

193 Čugunov et al. 2006, pl. 26, 121, no. 13.

194 Čugunov et al. 2006, pls. 31-32, 123-124, no. 16.

195 Treister 2007, fig. 4. See, in detail, Treister 2009 a.

196 See n. 136.

197 Alekseyev 2005, 54; Alekseev 2006, 166; Alekseev 2007, 254.

198 Chernenko 1984, 50.

199 Vlasova 2001b, 130. On the inscription from the Seven Brothers settlement (ancient Labrys) suggesting that the settlement was a capital of the Sindian Kingdom, see Tokhtas'ev 2006, 1-62 with bibliography.

200 Treister 1982, 71, fig. 2 (the distribution map); Treister 1985, 126-139. See also new finds in the vicinity of Phanagoria (Limberis & Marchenko 2007, 235) and in the Kuban area (Tenginskaya: Beglova 2002, 303, fig. 8.1). Against my interpretation as diplomatic gifts, see most recently Limberis & Marchenko 2007, 235. In favour of my suggestion, see Archibald 2004, 11; Ladynin 2007, 235-252 with bibliography.

201 Savel'eva & Smirnov 1972, 106-113, figs. 2-3; Savelyeva 1973; Schmitt 2001, 197, no. 8 with bibliography.

202 Schmitt 2001, 199.

203 Balakhvantsev & Jablonskij 2008, 37.

204 Savel'eva & Smirnov 1972, 110, 118, fig. 7; Savelyeva 1973, 5.

205 Balakhvantsev & Jablonskij 2007, 147.

206 Berlizov 1997, 103.

207 Cf. Vogelsang 1992, 223.

208 Balakhvantsev & Jablonskij 2006, 105.

209 This is a preliminary list, which is based only on the published materials. Also, the information on the burial complexes is not complete. Despite numerous requests to the curators of the Antiquities Department of the State Hermitage Museum, I have not received the desired information about the contexts of some finds, about which there is no data in the literature.

210 Vlasova 2001b, 131.

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# Revisiting Dareios' Scythian Expedition

*Christopher Tuplin*

## *Introduction*

For most people the main reason for believing in a Persian invasion of north Black Sea Scythia during the reign of Dareios is the Herodotean narrative (4.1.83-143). There *are* other Greek sources<sup>1</sup> and echoes in non-Greek sources, but in investigating the Scythian campaign one is investigating Herodotus. One thing I have found revisiting the topic is that there has been little new engagement with the story among the ever-growing band of Herodotean scholars.<sup>2</sup> The same is true in the realm of Achaemenid studies. The expedition naturally figures in Briant's *magnum opus* (Briant 2002), but Josef Wiesehöfer's *Ancient Persia* (1996) apparently does not deal with it. There may, of course, be good reason for this – perhaps the expedition was a non-event and all ways of dealing with the odd historical/historiographical record have been tried at one time or another, leaving little more to be said than had already been said a decade or more ago.<sup>3</sup> I cannot assert that I have found anything but the odd tangential novelty. Indeed my principal hope is that the present discussion will prompt colleagues from other disciplines to draw attention to new data or speculations about existing data that have not yet reached the world of Herodotean or Achaemenid studies.

The story we are assessing is that Dareios, intent on avenging a Scythian invasion of western Asia during the Median Empire, marched an army over the Bosphorus, through eastern Europe (where certain tribes surrendered or were subdued), across the Danube and around much of southern Ukraine. Worsted by the Scythians (who first fled but then harassed and confronted the invaders), Dareios recrossed the Danube and returned to Anatolia, leaving Megabazos to conquer Thrace. What historians would like to know is (a) whether Dareios actually campaigned across the Danube and, if so, how far and with what success, (b) what was the scale of his achievement in Cisdanubian Europe and (c) what were the motives for any or all of these activities.

A campaign to the Danube is not in itself incredible. Historians intent on an east Mediterranean, Anatolian, Levantine and western Asiatic world are liable to think of the north Black Sea as seriously out of the way (the grain-trade notwithstanding), but the distance from Byzantium to the Danube by a coastal route (ca. 775 km) is about the same as that from Byzantium to Larissa in central Thessaly. Even quite a substantial incursion across the river would

produce a trip no greater than Byzantium to Athens. What this implicit analogy with Xerxes in 480 does suggest is that a campaign would be a big undertaking, but Herodotus does not claim otherwise. So far, then, so good. But perhaps only so far, because much else about the Herodotean account fails to live up to the analogy, since, on the one hand, it is brief and ill-balanced compared with that of Xerxes' invasion while, on the other hand, some of what is there is positively fantastical. I propose to explore this by presenting some largely aporetic observations on what may seem a rather arbitrary series of discrete topics.

*A fundamental narrative misconception?*

Scholarship on the Scythian expedition has regularly rewritten the Herodotean narrative. Sometimes this is due to geographic problems and I shall come to those later. Here I deal with another issue.

In Herodotus Dareios returns to Anatolia via Sestos not the Bosphorus bridge (4.143), Megabazos' first target (after Dareios has left) is Perinthos (5.1), after which he marches west, while his successor Otanes (some time later) captures Byzantium and Chalkedon (5.25-26).<sup>4</sup> Given that Perinthos lies close to Dareios' outward line of march and on the assumption that Dareios avoided the Bosphorus bridge on his return because of dissidence in Byzantium and/or Chalkedon,<sup>5</sup> the suggestion has been advanced that we backdate Megabazos' campaign (so he is conquering Perinthos and other Hellespontine and Thracian targets while Dareios marches on west and north) and have him replaced by Otanes upon Dareios' return to eastern Thrace: Otanes can then proceed immediately to the reconquest of Byzantium and Chalkedon and then to the conquest of Lemnos, whose inhabitants had supposedly inflicted casualties on Dareios' returning army (5.27). That there *was* dissidence in Chalkedon is assumed in Ktesias (688 F13[21]), though there Dareios crosses the Bosphorus and burns Chalkedon's houses and temples because the citizens had intended to destroy the bridge and actually demolished an altar to Zeus Diabaterios erected by Dareios on the outward trip. (Polyainos' report in 7.11.5 that Dareios captured Chalkedon by siege could be part of the same story-line.) This version presumes that the dissidence manifested itself fairly immediately; and the revised reading of Herodotus would be in agreement with Ktesias except about the identity of the Persian who suppressed the trouble.

This seductive hypothesis opens up the image of a co-ordinated two-pronged Persian incursion into south eastern Europe, but can be criticized. That it spoils the story of the Paeonian deportation (which requires Dareios to be in Sardis while Megabazos is in Thrace) may not be a major difficulty, since few take it entirely at face-value. But it is doubtful whether Ktesias provides a valid independent argument for rewriting Herodotus; his flights of fancy and/or opportunistic manipulations of alternative (but not necessarily well-grounded) traditions are too hard to control. Dareios' return *via* Sestos

could simply mean that he had a positive reason to go to the Chersonese (and then naturally went to Anatolia directly, not via the Bosporos); Doriskos was established at this era (7.159) and that could in principle as well occur at the start of Megabazos' operations as at their end; and, if we set aside the element of Transdanubian debacle (which is suspect), there is no need to imagine immediate outbreak of dissidence at either end of the Bosporos bridge, and the apparent "delay" involved in its suppression after Megabazos' Thracian campaign can be an illusion. On the other hand, if Byzantion and Chalkedon did not turn dissident immediately, what made them do so (or be accused of doing so) by the time Otanes came to conquer them? After all, this was a time at which Megabazos had been displaying Persian power. Again, could Dareios really have left Perinthos – and the entire Hellespontine shore between the Chersonese and Byzantion – to be dealt with after an expedition to the Danube? Perhaps it is unduly Hellenocentric to raise these problems. Perinthos may have been the highest local Athenian tribute-payer after Byzantion, but would the Great King really have feared it? The fact that Byzantion and Chalkedon were foolish to misbehave does not mean (just because they were Greek) that they could not have done so. I remain unsure how to resolve these questions. I do note that there is no explicit link in the sources with a separate strand of post-Scythian-expedition developments associated with Scythian counter-attacks, *viz.* Miltiades' temporary expulsion by Scythians (6.40) either shortly after the expedition or in the later 490s (both options are problematic),<sup>6</sup> Kleomenes' drunken confabulations with Scythians intent on an invasion of the Persian Empire (6.84) and Strabon's talk of Dareios burning Troad towns to deny Scythians a bridgehead into Anatolia (13.1.22). The connection of two of these with controversial individuals does not encourage one to take them very seriously. The third could, I suppose, be linked with Otanes' capture of Lamponion and Antandros – but if so, as with Ktesias and Chalkedon, we are back in a world in which it is Dareios who deals personally with northwest Anatolian fall-out from the Danube expedition.

### *Geographical issues*

A notorious feature of the Herodotean narrative is that Dareios' army is led a merry dance over vast tracts of southern Ukraine. Nearly everyone agrees this is incredible.<sup>7</sup> But there are other things to be said. (1) It is absent in later comprehensive Greek versions of the expedition and not implicit in other scattered material in Greek sources.<sup>8</sup> (2) It is only partially linked with Herodotus' Scythian geography. The inclusion of a new geographical sketch in 4.99-101 is a telling sign of this.<sup>9</sup> The notion of a Scythia surrounded by other tribes is like that earlier in book 4 (and we now get to hear about them), but the absence of rivers in Scythia and appearance of new ones beyond (flowing into Maiotis) is striking, as is the absence of the peoples living within Scythia; this Scythian world is a much emptier and more purely nomadic space than the

earlier one – we are in the world of the “desolation beyond Ister” postulated in 5.9-10, even if that is in a statement about Transdanubian land presumably lying further west, and, in fact, in a world of stereotype to a degree not true earlier in book 4.<sup>10</sup> (3) It is separable from the rest of Herodotus’ narrative. The Dareios-Idanthyrsos interchange in 4.126-128 is almost the start of a new story – the great chase being a self-contained whole after which everyone is back to where they started. One could remove it and be left with a tale limited geographically to the immediate Transdanubian area.<sup>11</sup>

Integral to the Herodotean narrative is the reaction of the Scythians’ neighbours to co-operation against the invader: it is this that forces flight and the large geographical framework (4.102, 118-120). It also forms part of a parallel between the Scythian expedition and the invasion of Greece to which several scholars have drawn attention.<sup>12</sup> So one might wonder if this vision of the campaign is a product of retrospective application of that parallel. (The parallel, of course, spreads to other bits of the overall narrative, but some of these would be possible without the huge geographical sweep. Ktesias’ version still worked with a Scythia-Greece analogy, while abandoning the huge geographic sweep.<sup>13</sup>) If so, one may be able to argue a *terminus post quem* for successful development of this vision.

In Aiskhylos’ *Persians* Dareios’ unsuccessful attack on Greece is admitted (Marathon is mentioned early on) and his Empire includes “Acheloid *epau-leis* of Thracians beside the Strymonian sea” and places on dry land around the Hellespont, Propontis and Pontic mouth (867-877). But it is insisted that Dareios himself stayed east of the Halys, his conquests being achieved by subordinate generals (865-866); and the yoking of the sea with a bridge is denounced as madness (725, 745-751). In short, Aiskhylos presumes a world in which Dareios’ personal expedition (across a bridge) cannot have happened, though the activities of Megabazos in the *parathalassia* of Thrace and Otanes in the Propontic area would be perfectly well allowed for. (Notice, incidentally, that Macedonia is absent. Mardonios’ expedition in 492 is off the radar. Is this a sign of post-Persian Wars revisionism about the Macedonians’ relationship with Xerxes?) We are certainly dealing with a selective picture of the Dareian past. But one might wonder whether Aiskhylos could even have thought of the treatment of Dareios and Xerxes that characterizes *Persians* if a vision of the Scythian expedition such as we find in Herodotus existed or at any rate was all dominant in people’s minds in 472. For what we find in Herodotus is in essence a vision diametrically opposed to that of Aiskhylos – one in which Dareios prefigures Xerxes’ failure instead of representing the good model that Xerxes has abandoned. It may be that increasing intellectual interest in Scythia as one of the ethno-geographical poles of the inhabited world (the very interest that underlines Herodotus 4 as a whole) contributed to the idea of upgrading the expedition into a contrasted parallel for Greek success in 480. It might be no coincidence that the other ethno-geographical pole, Egypt, comes into the picture with the story about Egyptian priests refusing to let Dareios erect a

statue of himself at Heliopolis because he had not matched Sesostris' career of conquest and – in Herodotos' version (2.102-110) – specifically had failed to conquer Scythia.<sup>14</sup> Be that as it may, we should not lightly assume that a grandiose version of Dareios' Scythian invasion and defeat was already in circulation during Dareios' own reign.<sup>15</sup>

Geographical issues are not confined to the Transdanubian phase. South of the Danube the problem is not indeed an immediate appearance of fantasy. But things are not easy either.

The Danube may not be the far side of the moon. But was it natural to mount a major expedition going that far? Starting at Byzantium, vistas for further conquest open in all directions. How should Dareios decide in which direction to go? Mountains neatly demarcate (a) coastal Thrace and the approaches to the Greek peninsula and (b) the Maritsa valley and central Bulgaria; and one might incline to think that the “natural” first step for European conquest is to consolidate a hold south of the Great Balkan Range rather than push to (or beyond) the Danube. This even has some validity for a coastal perspective – the Burgas area seems quite well demarcated by land from the Varna area. Indeed even making for Apollonia and Mesembria was not wholly natural given the mountains along what is now the Turkish-Bulgarian border. The conclusion to draw is not, of course, that the march to the Danube never happened (the geographical complexity of mainland Greece did not prevent a Persian invasion, after all), but that, if it did, the region's accessibility by sea (both its actual accessibility and the sense of it as an area conjoined with, not disjoined from, Byzantium and the Hellespont) must be important. That ought to have implications for the conduct of the campaign and, very possibly, for its motivation. But these expectations are not wholly fulfilled when we look at the narrative.

Dareios marches from Byzantium to the Danube and back from the Danube to Sestos. The return trip is whollyunnarrated and, as a trip, admits of almost no comment.<sup>16</sup> The outward trip mixes occasional circumstantial detail with vagueness or outright silence, and demands comment.

Since the story is supposed to be about Dareios entering southern Ukraine one expects his approach to lie as far east as possible, with a crossing of the Danube as close to the sea as is consistent with avoiding the delta. (In practice this means between Tulcea, where the delta branches meet, and Galati, where the river starts to run north-south instead of east-west.) Various things are *prima facie* consistent with that: the passage past Tearos (4.89-91), both because it is described as equidistant from Heraiom and Apollonia, thus hinting at an onward trip towards Apollonia, and because anyone making for the Maritsa valley would not go that far north; the reference to the surrender of the Salmydessos Thracians (on the Thracian coast) and two Thracian tribes (Skyrmiadai and Nipsaioi) described as inland from Apollonia and Mesembria but potentially essentially coastal (4.93);<sup>17</sup> and Herodotos' statement that the Danube crossing was indeed just above the delta split (4.89).<sup>18</sup>

On this last point let me note explicitly that Herodotus' other statement (4.89), that the Ionians sailed two days up the Danube, can be regarded as consistent. It is not legitimate to apply the rate-of-sail Herodotus used a few lines earlier when discussing the dimensions of the Black Sea (4.86) and insist that the crossing point should be 1,400 stades = 155 miles = 250 km upriver. Nor can we properly respond to Strabo's statement (7.3.15) that the crossing point was Peuke island, a mere 120 stades up-river in the middle of the delta, by postulating confusion with the Peuke that lay somewhere north of Plovdiv:<sup>19</sup> it is inconceivable that the Ionian ships sailed that far. Both of these alternatives to a crossing between Tulcea and Galati would drive us moderately (Herodotus) or peremptorily (the reinterpretation of Strabo) towards the view that the real goal of the so-called Scythian expedition really lay in Romania. That is a view that some historians have held, but I insist that the written data about crossing places cannot reasonably be held to point in that direction.

But, if we cannot disturb the crossing point (without wholly abandoning Herodotus' *mise-en-scène*), this leaves us with two problems earlier on: a dilemma about the Odrysians and the Arteskos (either the Odrysians are in an unexpected place or Dareios marched west from the Tearos);<sup>20</sup> and the failure of whichever Greek coastal cities already existed by the penultimate decade of the sixth century (certainly Apollonia, Odessos and Istria, probably Tomis, perhaps Mesembria and/or Kallatis) to figure substantively in the narrative in relation either to the land army or the fleet – a significant failure not just on a general, perhaps overly Hellenocentric, basis that Greek cities *ought* to be mentioned but on two more specific ones: (a) on the analogy of 480 one expects an army marching so far along the coast to have come together with the fleet at least once; and (b) an expedition as far as the Danube is perhaps only credible if there was a determinately important coastal perspective. We might try to respond by keeping the Odrysians where they "should" be and asserting that the Nipsaioi and Skyrmiadai lay well inland from Apollonia and Mesembria; Dareios would then proceed into the lower-middle Maritsa valley (beyond Edirne) before turning north through the Stara Planina and making his way through hinterland Nipsaian and Skyrmiadan territory and then eventually back into the Dobrudja. This, however, would also involve a major abandonment of Herodotus' apparent *mise-en-scène* – the only point in penetrating the lower-middle Maritsa valley would be to assert Persian power there, whereas that is what is precisely missing in Herodotus.

The trouble is that the only alternative to fundamental abandonment of the Herodotean *mise-en-scène* is to say (i) either that the Odrysians moved or that Herodotus made a mistake and (ii) that the absence of substantive material about the relation of the Greek cities to the Persian passage through the area is just a quirk of the tradition. There is a sort of parallel in the case of the Greeks of the north Aegean coast: the narrative of Megabazos' campaign certainly does not highlight its impact on Greek cities in the region. (Contrast

the prominence of Perinthos in 5.1-2.) Even so, 5.2 does say that Megabazos subdued every polis and *ethnos*. The treatment of Dareios' march does not even allow that much. The absence of north Black Sea Greek cities from the story of Transdanubian events is tolerable because the fantastical geography of the Herodotean narrative means we can substitute a version in which Dareios' activities keep well away from their hinterland. But in the Thracian part of the story the geography is not fantastical, merely (mostly) absent, and the problem is much greater. It is only compounded by the fact that Dareios is supposed to have conquered the Getai – major players in the military story of the region (Thuc. 2.98.3-4) whose subjection should surely have been a matter of significance to their Greek neighbours.

### *Geographical reality in place of fantasy*

If Herodotos' Transdanubian campaign is (at least in part – military confrontation with Scythians in the latter part of the story, not necessarily far from the Danube, is another matter) fantasy, what do we do about it?

Is it a fantasy replacing or built out of something real or simply dreamt up from nowhere and bolted on to what was really just a brief campaign in Transdanubian lands? The sense of a new start (already mentioned) at the exchange-of-gifts makes one well-disposed to the second option. In fact, the only reason not to adopt that conclusion immediately is the presence of two circumstantial details in the great-chase narrative, *viz.* the burning of the Boudinian city and the building of the Oaros forts (4.123-124). These stand in marked contrast to the generalized talk of the damage caused by Scythian and Persian incursions into other circum-Scythian locations, and scholars are apt to feel their appearance requires explanation. The approach is usually to relocate the items (which *prima facie* belong deep in the Ukrainian hinterland) to somewhere a bit closer either to the Danube or to the theatre of a putative “eastern Scythian expedition” coming across the Caucasus.<sup>21</sup> The two need not have come from the same origin, of course, and they stand in a different relation to Herodotos' geography elsewhere in book 4, since the Boudinoi are part of it and the Oaros is not. All one can say is that, if the context into which they have been inserted is fantasy, there can be no rational way of deducing their true origin from their current position and demonstrating the accuracy of the deduction. I am perfectly happy to believe that somewhere in the vast expanses of Transdanubian territory about which data might reach Greek ears (perhaps even through the autopsy of Greek eyes) there were “incomplete fortresses” on a river and a burned “city”. (Belsk illustrates the sort of thing that might have been known to Greeks, even if we do not choose to identify it as the Boudinian city.<sup>22</sup>) But the linkage of such monuments with a story about Dareios can as well be part of the fantasy as a bit of reality responsible for the formulation of the fantasy. There is no way that we can tell. So, though historians are at liberty to imagine whatever they like about Romania or about

Persian incursions through the Caucasus and to incorporate the Oaros forts and/or the burned city therein, they need other evidence or arguments to make those stories more than just alternative fantasies. I shall return (briefly) to the Caucasus later on, but so far as Romania goes, I must say that I see no reason why Herodotos' report that the Agathyrsi (i) wore gold (4.104) and (ii) prevented the Scythians from entering their country during the chase-phase of the campaign (4.125) should be regarded as reliable hints that Transylvanian gold was Dareios' target.<sup>23</sup>

One might compare the case of Jordanes (*History of the Goths* 63). His account seems to belong in the same general tradition as those of Justin 2.5.9 and Orosius 2.8.5, and that does not explicitly seem to be a tradition that is working with huge geographical sweep, though he does have a two-month campaign. But Jordanes adds that Dareios was defeated by the Scythians at Tapae. That is a circumstantial claim linked with a non-standard suggestion (though still not an explicit assertion) that there was actually a serious battle. Does this entitle us to identify a genuine alternative tradition? Since the only otherwise known Tapae is a locale of the Romano-Dacian Wars tentatively placed in the Bistra valley 175 miles northwest of Bucharest, we are being invited to an entirely different idea of the Transdanubian expedition. So should we take Jordanes' evidence seriously? No. This is the author who describes Tomyris as Queen of the Getai and says that, after defeating Kyros near the Araxes, she crossed into the part of Moesia now called Scythia Minor and founded the city of Tomi (61-62). His apparent location of the Scythian expedition in Dacia is plainly of no substantive authority whatsoever. Is it any less plain that the Oaros forts and Boudinian polis tell us nothing reliable about Dareios' expedition? I am not sure that it is.

### *The expedition as military event*

One reason for revisiting the Scythian expedition is that I have been doing some systematic work on the military dimension of Achaemenid imperialism. In principle the expedition is a major exhibit. In practice the record is disappointing – though this is quite often the case with the record of Persian military events: ever-conscious of Herodotos books 7-9 and the Army-List or of the Alexander narratives, we readily forget how much Achaemenid military campaign history is poorly and unspecifically attested.

Herodotos and other Greek sources provide very large global figures and a simple classification into infantry, cavalry and ships but otherwise do not illuminate the invasion army. The same goes for the troops used in Megabazos' and Otanes' Thracian-Hellespontine operations. On the recruitment front it is affirmed that troops came from all of those over whom Dareios ruled. As this is said in connection with reference to the stelae that Dareios erected at the Bosphorus crossing, one may conjecture a confusion between lists of lands/peoples and lists of actual troops, but it might be wrong to assume that this

is the sole and direct reason for postulating a multi-ethnic/pan-ethnic army. We cannot forget the 480 parallel. Multi-ethnicity may appear elsewhere too. The narrative postulates the presence of a component of little worth (*elakhistos logos*) that is abandoned as a decoy when Dareios eventually flees to the Danube (4.135); a somewhat similar idea already appeared in Herodotos' narrative of Kyros' conquest of Babylon (1.191) and his final campaign (1.207,211), and is perhaps implied in the story of Zopyros' capture of Babylon (3.155). One should probably resist the temptation to assimilate the useful/useless distinction with that between the real and parade versions of a royal army, since these useless or expendable troops are being deployed on actual campaign (or does this beg a question about how far the whole enterprise – indeed any enterprise involving a royal expedition – was in display mode?), but it *may* hint at an ethnic differentiation between Iranians and others.<sup>24</sup> The least unspecifically attested component of the expeditionary force is, in fact, the Greek fleet – we do, after all, get the names of contingent commanders (4.137-138), even if the global figure of 600 ships is fantasy. But its function is confined to creating and guarding a Danube bridge, so there is not much military history to be got here, and diametrically opposite conclusions have been drawn about campaign strategy.<sup>25</sup> The logistical problem of feeding the army, acknowledged in the narrative of Xerxes' invasion, is ignored here until Dareios has crossed the Danube and even then only appears in the final phase. No maritime component seems to be postulated in Megabazos' Thracian campaign – despite Megabazos' disapproval of Histiaios' occupation of Myrkinos being partly due to its access to the materials for shipbuilding (5.23).

It deserves stress that in Herodotos' narrative it was always the Scythian intention to fight back against Dareios. They first make contact with the invader three days from the Danube (4.122) – attack on the invader is envisaged in certain circumstances during the first (flight) phase (4.120) and in the second phase a strategy of harassment and attrition is directed at trapping the Persians so they can be destroyed (4.130); this continues to be so even after the full-scale battle is aborted when the Scythians chase a hare and the Persians prove too demoralized to take advantage of the fact (4.134, 136).<sup>26</sup> Many readers, impressed by (a) Herodotos' remarks in 4.46 about the advantages Scythians derive from having no towns, living off animals rather than crops and being expert horseback-archers, (b) the flight-phase of the expedition narrative and (c) the Scythian king's claim that they can only be forced to fight in defence of their ancestral tombs fail to notice that the Scythians' purpose is not to bore Dareios into leaving them alone but to destroy him. And if one goes back to 4.46 one finds that Herodotos does not just say that the Scythian life-style allows them to evade conquest; what he says is that they can prevent an attacker from escaping and avoid being caught unless they want to be detected: it is a proposition about tactical advantage in warfare, not the possibility of avoiding it – quite reasonable in a people who worship Ares and are clearly assigned a value-system dependent on individual military

achievement. If there is a mismatch between Scythian ethnography and the war with Dareios it is rather that Dareios does actually escape, albeit after many losses and thanks to a some good fortune. I stress this both in the interests of reading Herodotus accurately and because it means that, whatever scale of operation across the Danube we insert in place of Herodotus' fantasies (and perhaps especially if it is a relatively limited one), the mere idea of crossing the river to fight a nomadic people is not absurd: one can assume that they will fight back rather than simply disappearing until the invader gives up and goes away. Alexander found the same beyond the Jaxartes.<sup>27</sup>

*The expedition as part of the discourse of imperial conquest*

It is another matter how and how easily victory by the invader can be turned into abiding imperial control, though the King's consistent claim to rule Saka on the north eastern frontier indicates it was not impossible. We shall return to royal inscriptions shortly, but I have four other points to make about the place of the Scythian venture in the discourse of imperial conquest.

First, whatever the exact date of the expedition (and the associated activities of Megabazos and Otanes), the evidence at our disposal puts it, along with events in North Africa, at the end of a period of military conquest that is followed by over a decade of silence. I doubt that this is just an artefact of Greek neglect of the parts of Achaemenid history that were distant from the western Empire or a sign (and indeed confirmation) that there had been a significant reverse on the northern frontier. On the contrary, the new (and usurping) king had made his mark at both ends of the Empire and it was time to retrench and concentrate a little upon the building of palaces.

Second, Herodotus initially sees the expedition's cause in the availability of resources and a desire for revenge (4.1) and only articulates an intention to impose rule during the narrative (4.118, 126-127) – though since revenge is being taken for Scythian rule over the Medes such an intention is perhaps implicit throughout. In Ktesias the eventual invasion follows an earlier unexplained small-scale seaborne raid by the Kappadokian satrap aimed at securing prisoners, while the tradition in Justin, Orosius and Jordanes speaks of the Scythian king's refusal to marry his daughter to Dareios. These may be versions that did not assume an initial intention to extend imperial frontiers (as opposed to asserting the king's authority). Or perhaps they were uninterested in such distinctions between different types of subordination to Persian suzerainty – in which case they need not have seen things very differently from the Persians themselves, as the components of royal authority in royal inscriptions are generic enough to embrace different practical situations. Indeed, the Herodotean notion of slavery as the rectification of an earlier wrong could also be compared with the Persian idea of suppressing manifestations of the Lie. Views may differ about how far this was a causative element in the context of religious justification of universal empire rather than an op-

portunistic rationalization of aggression (Lincoln (2007) recently expounded a fairly unqualified version of the former approach), but Herodotus certainly believed universal empire could be a Persian objective. Modern historical scholarship tends to eschew this sort of analysis and speak of a concern for direct or indirect access to material resources (theses about defence of Greek commercial interests are in the latter category) or of the mounting of a brief foray to underline the status of the Danube as an imperial frontier.<sup>28</sup> But the two modes of analysis are not inconsistent and may both be needed.<sup>29</sup> To see the push into Europe as a natural next step in the pattern of military conquest is not an abdication of explanatory responsibility. The choice (if it was the choice) to stick initially with the coastal edges of the European peninsula was merely a tactical one.

Third, the Herodotean narrative includes a Persian demand for earth-and-water – this is what Dareios asks of Idanthyrsos (4.126) and tries to claim Idanthyrsos has supplied with his gift of bird, mouse, frog and arrows (4.131-132).<sup>30</sup> Pherekydes' alternative version (bird, mouse, frog, arrow and plough) survives without an attempted connection with earth-and-water (*FGrH* 3 F174). Since the identity of Pherekydes remains uncertain,<sup>31</sup> we cannot be sure whether his version pre-dated Herodotus', but the silence about earth-and-water is unsurprising, as it is a concept almost exclusively associated with Herodotus and never encountered in post-479 historical contexts. Various attempts have been made to explain its symbolism and define the circumstances in which the gift was demanded or offered. One detail in the Scythian case is worth noting: in his interpretation of the king's gift Dareios associates mouse and frog with earth and water and in the former case says, not just that the mouse lives in the earth (as the frog lives in water), but that the mouse eats the same food as human beings (4.132). That suggests that, in Herodotus' understanding at least, the earth is specifically connected with the growth of food, and this would fit what seems to me to be a natural assumption, *viz.* that earth and water symbolize the donor's offering of territory and resources to the Great King. We are in the same realm as with the gifts on the Apadana frieze or the report in Deinon (690 F23) that Ammoniac salt and water from the Nile and the Danube were stored in the king's treasury "as a confirmation of the greatness of their *arche* and their control of everything". (So far as the Danube goes, we must assume this was a statement about the past, not contemporary fourth century circumstances.)

Fourth, even as a statement about the past, it does affirm some abiding claim to land including or bordering on the Danube. However scandalous Herodotus' treatment of Transdanubian events may be, the scandal of our inability to nail down the nature of the post-expedition *status quo* in the non-Aegean Cisdanubian region is even greater. In the Aegean sector Herodotus does claim that a degree of systematic conquest was involved, and behind the Macedonian spin in 5.18-22 one can see that Megabazos' tour of duty was followed by the arrival of a general called Boubares. Elsewhere we note Heka-

taios' report of a "Persian city", Boryza, between Salmydessos and Apollonia. Is this enough, together with Deinon on the waters of the Danube, to ensure that the Black Sea coast as far as that river was to be held at least as firmly as the Aegean one? If so, the fact that fugitives from Byzantium/Chalkedon in 493 thought Mesembria a safe haven (Hdt. 6.33) implies a loss of authority during the Ionian revolt era (similar to that visible in the north Aegean) but, whereas Mardonius reasserted Persian authority in the north Aegean, we do not know that anyone did in the Black Sea. Was there a change of policy, a decision to abandon the Black Sea coast? Or it just that Aegeocentric Greek sources were not consistently interested in Black Sea events? How can we ever know in the absence of some spectacularly well-focused archaeological or epigraphic discovery?<sup>32</sup> Could Aegeocentrism extend as far as neglecting operations to consolidate some control in the lower and middle Maritsa valley? Is the observation that the list of Xerxes' European troops in 7.185 starts with "Thrace" and ends (way out of geographical order) with "those who inhabit the Thracian coast" an adequate reason for postulating such a thing?

#### *Non-Greek sources: archaeology*

Leaving these questions prompted by the insufficiency of Greek sources hanging in the air, I move, finally, to some remarks about sources outside the realm of Greek literature.

My impression of the archaeological material may be summarized as follows. (I use the word "impression" advisedly: this is not a systematic review of data.)

(a) No one can *demonstrate* any direct results of the presence of an invading Persian army. The late sixth century burning of parts of Istria seems too late for Dareios – and, if it were not, would make Herodotos' silence entirely scandalous.<sup>33</sup> Association of any burned sites there may be in or around Belsk with Dareios (cf. n. 22) is little less groundless than Furtwängler's claim (cited in Minns 1913, 237) that a burial at Vetersfelde (700km from Kiev!) had something to do with the Scythian flight before Dareios. The suggestion that the hilt of the Chertomlyk sword came from a weapon taken as booty from Dareios' army (Chernenko 1984, 49-50) seems pretty arbitrary. So does Jacobsen's proposition (1995, 39) that some rhyta from a fifth century burial at Seven Brothers (east of the Cimmerian Bosphorus) are an exception to the general principle that there is little reflection of Dareios' expedition in the furnishings of late sixth or early fifth century burials. One can, of course, assemble various "reflections" of the Achaemenid world in the north Black Sea (Fedoseev 1997) over the centuries of its existence but – as with other places inside and outside the Empire – tying them to specific historical events is not often self-evidently possible.

(b) A substantial Scythian presence in the hinterland of the Greek cities of the Ukrainian coast – whether or not involving a "protectorate"<sup>34</sup> – still lay

well in the future in ca. 512 BC and seems to be principally due to the intrusion of new people from outside, not a change in the character or cohesion of people already there (caused, for example, by raised consciousness following the defeat of Dareios). On the other hand, there is now talk of a permanent Scythian presence from the late seventh century in the Dobrudja and adjacent steppe-land (the scene of Dareios' defeat in Strabon's version), and even of this being the ancestral territory of Ariapeithes, Oktamasdes and Skyles.<sup>35</sup> Some speak of a Scythian elite ruling indigenous (Getic?) people, others seem to imagine a larger body of Scythians. Perhaps the distinction is not important here, and the situation is consistent with Thoukydides' talk of Getai and other groups who were like Scythians in being armed horsemen (2.96). At any rate, it seems to be a picture different from one that merely recognizes a degree of Scythian-Thracian interpenetration.<sup>36</sup> If Dareios wished to fight Black Sea Scythians he did not need to stray far from the Danube.

(c) Without prejudice to the subtleties of trade-pattern analysis or debates about the importance of the grain trade in the Archaic and early Classical era (cf. recently Moreno 2007), there seems every reason to suppose that the north and northwest Black Sea (and indeed Bosphorus) were in regular beneficial contact with the Aegean and west Anatolian world and that the condition of Greek communities in the region was relatively good, with both urbanization and extension of rural *chorai* being talked about in the last quarter of the sixth century.<sup>37</sup> These communities were not obviously in need of defence (may indeed characteristically have been in satisfactory symbiotic relationship with local non-Greek population groups), but might have looked to the Persians like a possible source of profit. At the same time, one has to reiterate that, as it stands, the narrative wholly shuts them out.

(d) No one now seems to talk (as Rostovtzeff 1922, 83 did) about links between the north Black Sea and Scythic populations in northern Anatolia as something that could encourage Persian interest in the region, though this latter group does perhaps enter the story rather tangentially as part of the literature on the Skudra (on whom more below).

(e) We now have evidence for a strong Achaemenid imprint upon (and perhaps presence in) eastern Georgia and for its co-existence with – perhaps among others – a population group whose funerary behaviour has a certain Scythian or nomadic allure.<sup>38</sup> The Caucasus was certainly not an impermeable border (any more than was the Danube: see above). But the implications of the recent transformation in our view of this part of the Empire's northern frontier for hypotheses about Achaemenid military incursions beyond the Caucasus remain debatable. Does it, for example, make it any more likely that a story in Polyainos (7.12) in which a campaign of Dareios against the Sakai is put at risk by the treacherous behaviour of a Sakan called Sirakes belongs in a north-of-Caucasus location, on the grounds that Sirakes/Sirakoi is a tribal name found in this general region in post-Achaemenid times?<sup>39</sup> One may still want to insist that other names in the story (Amorges; the Baktrros river) take

us to the eastern part of the Empire – where Sirakene can also be found as a regional toponym.<sup>40</sup> Still, the idea that certain peculiarities of the Herodotean account might be explained by postulating Persian military interest in the lands east of the Black Sea and north of the Caucasus *did* exist prior to and independently of our improved knowledge of Achaemenid engagement with the lands immediately south of the Caucasus (cf. n. 21), and some will certainly argue that these two independent sets of data can legitimately offer one another some support. Of the various ways of dismantling Herodotus' narrative into more credible (or less incredible) components, this is one of the more seductive. But I am not convinced that it is true.

(f) Finding a neat link from the material culture of Thrace to Dareios' campaign or its consequences is difficult. The inventory of gold and silver vessels of more or less "Achaemenid" imprint is, of course, some sort of reflection of Achaemenid imperial power,<sup>41</sup> but the implications for the *status quo* in ca. 515-465, a period predating most of the relevant vessels, remain arguable – which would not matter so much, of course, were it not the case that other forms of evidence that are both pertinent and cogent are hard to come by. Since find-spots are generally remote from the areas we *know* Persians to have traversed and controlled (i.e. the southern and eastern fringes), analysis in terms of relations with people outside the Empire (a story of gifts and artistic imitation against an essentially diplomatic background) seems inescapable – but that still leaves an element of uncertainty about how the Great King would have presented the situation to himself. More generally, the fact that the bulk of Thracian archaeological material of *all* categories originates from inland areas means that, while there may be arguments *e silentio* against Persian control or presence in the Bulgarian heartlands (but only may be: was there long enough for a great deal to show, when one considers how relatively elusive Achaemenid impact on the material record can seem even in well-established parts of the empire?), there seems to be little of use to be said about the coastal regions: that is particularly true of the Black Sea coast (it is symptomatic that archaeology apparently cannot help us establish for sure whether Kallatis and/or Mesembria were already in existence as of ca. 512), but only applies to the Aegean coast less, inasmuch as late Archaic numismatic material from the region's mints may reflect Persian intrusion into the area.<sup>42</sup> The blunt truth is that any view we may form about the nature of Persian rule in Thrace will really be based on a written record that is anything but systematic when it is not simply silent – and will be able to cast no secure light on what Dareios was or was not doing beyond the Danube.

#### *Non-Greek sources: texts*

Moving to textual material, we note Herodotus' record of two lost items. The Bosphorus crossing was marked with two stelae made of several individual blocks, one inscribed in Greek, one in Assyrian (4.87). It sounds as if,

as with the Nile-Red Sea Canal Stelae, a longer text was erected in the local language than in any one of the three cuneiform languages, which increases one's frustration that they had been destroyed before Herodotus saw them and was simply told that they listed all the contingents of Dareios' army. In the case of the other text, at the source of the Tearos (4.91), Herodotus does not specify a language, though it is generally assumed to have been in cuneiform, since there were reports in the mid-19th century that such a thing had once existed at Pinarhissar (it was said to have been carried off by the Russians), and what may have been its base was recovered a month before the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>43</sup> Few, I guess, believe that it actually said what Herodotus says it said: does it not sound far too much like what the local inhabitants, keen to promote their spring's curative properties would have liked it to have said? Still, the evidence is a useful fix for the route of Dareios' march. If only there were more such evidence. The suggestion that the stone-piles created as a means of counting Dareios' army (4.92) "sound suspiciously like the megalithic tombs in the Sakar and Strandja" (Archibald 1998, 82) – an area stretching from the Maritsa northwest of Edirne to the coast around Burgas – might count. They do not sound in themselves particularly well-designed to provoke the interpretation Herodotus reports, but they are very numerous and were covered with earth – allowing, I suppose, the belief that each of them contained large numbers of stones.<sup>44</sup>

Of texts that do survive three can be disposed of quickly. The fragmentary tablet from Gherla (far away in northern Romania), which *might* have carried a text resembling DPa and referring to the building of a *tacara*, is mysterious rather than illuminating.<sup>45</sup> The fifth column of the Behistun inscription, with its account of the defeat of a Saka chief in 519 (DB § 74), definitely does not belong to our set of events. And Masettis' reading of the Dynastic Prophecy as referring to Dareios attacking the Land of Han after five years of rule is impossible in the light of modern editions of the text.<sup>46</sup> This leaves just two categories of texts that *are* relevant: the lists of lands ruled by the king appearing in a number of royal inscriptions (together with the iconographic adjunct on the royal tomb façades) and the rather numerous references in Persepolis fortification texts to Skudra working in Fars during the reign of Dareios. (That the latter are relevant depends, of course, on a particular view of the former.)

The relevant lists of peoples are those that putatively contain entries for European peoples, identified as such either by the tag "beyond the sea" or for other reasons.<sup>47</sup> There are only five such lists, and two are problematic from the start. DSe is incompletely preserved and the precise form in which one entry appears is not known for certain: this complicates things but is not perhaps disastrous. The Egyptian-language list on the Canal Stelae and Dareios Statue, however, is doubly odd: it describes Scythians in unique terms and it entirely omits the Yauna (as well as the Karians and Gandarans).<sup>48</sup> Since Scythian and Yauna entries are crucial for our purposes this is a problem; and since there is no unequivocally correct explanation of either oddity, the truth is that the

Canal-Statue list has to be fitted around whatever conclusions emerge from the other lists.

Among those other lists, two (DSe and DNA) include “Saka beyond the sea”. They appear after references to Lydians and Ionians and quite separately from the two Saka groups on the north east frontier (*haumavarga* and *tigraxauda*), and the natural assumption is that they are a western group, though Jacobs (1994, 257-260) has denied this, locating them instead in central Asia and identifying them with the Daha named in XPh – in which case neither list has anything to do with our present subject. If Jacobs is wrong about this, the really interesting thing is that, having appeared twice, these western Scythians disappear again. They are certainly absent in XPh and we cannot tell whether they are embraced by the compendious Scythian entry in the Canal-Statue list (see above, n. 48). So, at least by the reign of Xerxes (and in what is the longest list of peoples) and possibly in the reign of Dareios, the claim to rule them had been dropped. Was the claim a lie that was eventually abandoned (perhaps first by Dareios’ successor) or a legitimate boast overtaken by events or a change of policy? I incline to the second view, but there is no objective proof. It must be stressed in any case that “beyond the sea” affirms nothing about the Danube. If archaeological evidence entitled us to postulate Dobrudja Scythians (cf. n. 35), we could call them “Saka beyond the sea” and even do so without infringing the spirit of Herodotos’ account, since he says that Dareios conquered the Getai in the land immediately south of the Danube (4.93). If so, of course, we must also explicitly acknowledge an effective abandonment of Persian claims to suzerainty no later than some date in Xerxes’ reign.

Alongside the “Saka beyond the sea” we find in DSe the Skudra and a Yauna group *probably* labelled “beyond the sea” (as well as some “Yauna on the sea”) and in DNA the Skudra and *Yauna takabara* (as well as some plain Yauna). When the Saka have disappeared in XPh, we still find the Skudra and an entry for “Yauna on the sea and beyond the sea”. A fourth text (DPe), of similar date-horizon to DSe, offers “peoples beyond the sea” and “Yauna on the land and on the sea”. There are no entirely neat patterns here,<sup>49</sup> but it is hard to resist equating “Yauna beyond the sea” and *Yauna takabara* and associating both, along with the Skudra, with Persian military activity in Europe. It is true that this is to a significant degree because Herodotos invites us to believe in Persian military activity in Europe at the right sort of juncture. If Herodotos did not exist, one *could* tell a story in which none of these entities was further from Anatolia than an offshore island or (if Jacobs’ relocation of the “Saka beyond the sea” is still rejected) the transmarine Saka were approached wholly by sea. After all, one scholar has actually located the Skudra in northern Anatolia or Georgia (Gropp 2001), and if the Akkadian version of *Yauna takabara* literally means “Yauna who carry a shield to their head” (as Rollinger 2006 insists) one might think of the Lykian *Schildraub*. One might even, for that matter, see the “Yauna beyond the sea” as Ukrainian or Crimean Greeks. But Herodotos *does* exist, and neither his Transdanubian fantasies and

Cisdanubian inadequacies nor any enigmas surrounding *Yauna takabara* and Skudra as European entities are quite severe enough to make such (frankly) perverse alternative solutions at all attractive.

Robert Rollinger has, it is true, recently sought to make the *Yauna takabara* more problematic, arguing that the Akkadian version of their name does not speak of them “wearing” a shield and questioning whether their depiction on royal tomb façades assigns them the *petasos*-hat that current orthodoxy takes to be the reference of *takabara* and its Akkadian translation (Rollinger 2006). But I can live with the idea that we have a badly rendered *petasos* and an awkward translation of a metaphorical use of *takabara* produced by people not personally very familiar with or interested in the relevant article of dress – at least until a much better alternative explanation is forthcoming. Whether it was reasonable of Persians to regard the *petasos* (in principle wearable by *any* Greek) as a distinctive feature of inhabitants of the north Aegean coast may be arguable, but it seems a better bet than that they thought such people to be more characteristically hoplites than their Anatolian cousins.<sup>50</sup>

The Skudra remain elusive. (1) The labelled or conjectural depictions at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam are not entirely mutually consistent (though the carrying of two spears recurs, and hat with ear-flaps and a rounded or flattened bobble on top is common), sometimes have a Scythian allure and hardly look as one expect of a Thracian – *alopekis* and *zeira* are never uncontroversially present.<sup>51</sup> Of course, we lack Thracian self-representations of appropriate date.<sup>52</sup> (2) Their name is etymologically linked with “Scythian” and recalls toponyms encountered in many locations: scholars often stress parallels in northern Greece/Macedonia,<sup>53</sup> but one might as well think of Uskudama (Edirne), Skudris (in Hellespontine Phrygia) or, as Wouter Henkelman has recently observed, Uskudar (Scutari).<sup>54</sup> He suggests that the term was first encountered by Persians in relation to a west Anatolian population group and then used by analogy of non-Greeks in Europe, some of whom actually had ethnic links with Anatolia (he has in mind the Thracian Phrygian/Bithynian link). That the term was artificially conferred by outsiders might help explain its elusiveness in non-Persian historiographical or epigraphic sources and indeed the iconographic fluidity just noted, though it must be admitted that the toponymic and ethnonymic reflections of the word through Greece, the Balkans and Anatolia then become somewhat troubling. (3) Skudra appear as foreign workers in the Persepolis fortification archive over the longest period (nine different years<sup>55</sup>) and in the largest number of documents (86 texts), followed a little way behind by the Turmiryans (Lykians: 66) and a long way behind by anyone else (Babylonians with 38 are the next closest). Two personal names are known, Šedda and Karizza, and both are Iranian,<sup>56</sup> but since the archive contains Babylonians with Iranian names<sup>57</sup> the inference to be drawn is not certain. It is perhaps suggestive that there are Skudrian “horsemen”,<sup>58</sup> since there are no other horsemen amongst ethnically designated foreign workers. Again one might feel a slight Scythian allure. Of course, the Skudra

at Persepolis may not all have been not ethnically homogeneous. The greatest value of the archive evidence is perhaps that it forbids us to respond to the oddity of the name and the inadequacy of Herodotos' Cisdanubian narrative by treating the Skudra as an unreal element in the catalogue of imperial subjects. Whoever, and however many different people, they were, some of them at least were undoubtedly a solid resource. It is rather remarkable that it is precisely in the account of Megabazos' operations in coastal and near-coastal Thrace that Herodotos produces a story about the deportation of foreign people (in this case Paionians) as workers. This story does, of course, only take them as far as Anatolia, whence their alleged return in the 490s is a by-product of the disorder generated by the Ionian revolt.<sup>59</sup> But, since the whole tale has what one might reasonably call an emblematic character (and since it is the only place where Herodotos focuses on the movement of population as a matter of labour organization rather than as punishment for dissidence), one *might* feel entitled to wonder whether its appearance here reflects some actual recollection of worker-deportation as a consequence of the Persian military intrusion into Europe.

One other observation: if the transmarine Saka *are* a European group, they disappear from the roster of subjects at a time at which Skudra and transmarine Yauna are still included. So perhaps it *is* actually the case that the loss of Persian authority on the Black Sea coast implied by what happened at Mesembria in 493 BC (Hdt. 6.33) was never reversed. I doubt that the fact that Diodoros (11.2.1, 3.8) envisages Xerxes drawing ships from Pontic cities is particularly reliable evidence to the contrary.

#### *Non-Greek sources: military iconography*

Finally, from iconographically illustrated texts, I move back to pure military iconography. Mandrokles' picture of the crossing of the Bosphorus is long gone (Hdt. 4.88), and I hold no particular brief for the view sometimes advanced that there is a connection (at least a chronological one) between the Scythian expedition and the first issue of archer-adorned *sigloi* – though I am also not sure I can believe the claim that they were first issued as early as 522/521.<sup>60</sup> Instead I want to look at images of military combat.

As is well known, monumental art in the imperial heartland eschews military combat, preferring static iconographies of order and triumph. To find representations of combat involving Persians that originate within the geographical and chronological space of the Achaemenid Empire one has to look to monuments from western Anatolia or the Levant or to the art of the seal cutter or jeweller. If we search more specifically for combat images in which Persians are pitted against Scythians (or adversaries with the clothing and weaponry appropriate to nomadic people), then – apart from a single remarkable Anatolian monument, the Tatarlı tomb<sup>61</sup> – we are confined to a scene on the Miho torque (Bernard 2000) and to seal-stones or *bullae*. So far

as this latter category is concerned I know of 62 seal-stone or *bulla* images (of varying stylistic identity) which show combat and/or the parade of captives involving Persians and putatively non-Persian adversaries; of the 52 where the character of the adversary is not unknown or obscure, 18 involve what have been regarded as Scythians. There is no question of trying to demonstrate that any of these refers specifically to Black Sea Scythians, but they are not entirely irrelevant to the present topic.

The overwhelming majority of images in the corpus defined above involve Greek or west Anatolian adversaries. (Among seal images, for example, there are 37 Greek items.) That is no doubt a function of the place of origin of the art-objects involved – certain in the case of the large-scale monuments (tombs, stelae and the like) and likely or possible in the case of many other items. It should be stressed, of course, that where the images display Persian victory (always the case on seal-stones, for example) the putative non-heartland geographical origin or stylistic attribution does not necessarily tell the whole story about iconological significance for students of Persian military or imperial ideology. In these circumstances the presence of a number of items on which Persians fight (and defeat) "Scythian" adversaries is striking. Some wish to see these as commemorating specific (if not now identifiable) conflicts between the imperial power and people on the north eastern frontier of the Empire,<sup>62</sup> but one may be interested not so much in that as in the simple fact that the icons exist and that the only other readily recognizable category of non-Greek adversaries – Egyptians – appear on just three items. The general run of historical evidence tempts us to see the Egyptians as "significant" adversaries (and the seal images have been duly attached to one or other Egyptian revolt). Perhaps then the Scythian items also speak of the status of nomad adversaries in the Persian imperial imagination.<sup>63</sup> Of course, if we are to say anything like that, we shall also (even allowing a Greco-Anatolian bias in our corpus) have to conclude that Greeks had a special place in the Persian imperial imagination – a conclusion liable to alarm those who fear the vulnerability of Achaemenid studies to Hellenocentrism. Still, Greeks were responsible for a notable check to the fortunes of Persian imperialism (as well as being the victims of notable Persian military and diplomatic successes) and it would not be odd that they be incorporated in an iconography of Persian victory. It is no more Hellenocentric to say that Persians thought Greeks important enough to be the object of spin than it is Egyptocentric or Scythocentric to say the same about Egyptians and Scythians. If it is Greek sources that give us so much of our reason to think that Greeks, Egyptians or Scythians could be "significant" adversaries from a Persian point of view, that is only because it is Greek sources that are inescapably responsible for much of what passes for the narrative of Achaemenid history. This does not mean that I am arguing that we have to believe in a great Persian defeat in the north Black Sea in order to explain a prominence of Scythian adversaries in icons of Persian military victory: we have grounds for distrusting the

Greek sources on that point of a sort that do not exist when we are dealing with Xerxes' defeat or the importance of Egypt to the Persian Empire, and seal images are not a valid basis for dismissing those grounds for distrust – that *would* involve Hellenocentrism, since it would involve neglecting the importance of the (to us) ill-evidenced north eastern frontier. But what one *could* say in the light of the seal images is that any conflict with Saka on or beyond the north western frontier might have a special resonance for the Persian king and that, if Greeks chose to make an exceptionally big deal out of a relatively minor event (and connect it *via* a revenge motif with the historical impact of nomads in the heartlands of western Asia), they were in a certain sense behaving in a way that a Persian would have understood. I wonder, in passing, if this background is one component in the intermittently Scythoid construction of the Skudra.

There is also a point to be made about what one might call the tactical character of the military icons involved. Those who designed the images of Perso-Greek combat on seal-stones very largely chose to pit Greek infantry against either a quasi-royal figure (wearing dentate crown and Persian robe) or – most characteristically – against a Persian horseman. Those who designed putative Perso-Scythian combat images appear to have gone a different way. Two purely equestrian combat images do survive, though they appear so mutually similar that they must be regarded as two realizations of a single icon; and there is one seal impression that may show a Persian horseman pursuing an infantry Scythian. On the Miho torque (Bernard 2000, fig. 2) we have a clash between horsemen, but infantry are in attendance on both sides. The same is true on a much larger scale on the Tatarli beam, but at the centre of the composition is a confrontation on foot between a quasi-royal figure and three Scythians (one already dead at the Persian's feet), and it is images of this non-equestrian sort that fill the rest of the relevant corpus (Summerer 2007a, figs. 1-3; 2007b, figs. I-IX, XI-XX). That may seem mildly surprising; surely the Saka are people who characteristically live and fight on horseback and, since the Persians were also notable cavalrymen, should their victory over Saka not be primarily represented in equestrian icons? Now we must, of course, beware of stereotype assumptions about the military character of Persians and Scythians – and indeed one thing to be said in favour of Herodotos' picture of the north Black Sea conflict is that he goes against the stereotype in imagining the Scythians fielding an army that included infantry (4.134). But, even so, the prominence given to combat on foot requires explanation. I suggest that what it discloses is a sense that, to win true victory, you have to bring the enemy to a proper formal battle and defeat his infantry. The conquest of the Persian Empire was not encompassed by overwhelming adversaries with hordes of Iranian cavalry; it was achieved by mixed-force armies in which the proportions were, no doubt, somewhat different from that found in, for example, a Greek army, but the infantry was of at least equipollent significance. For iconographical purposes, whether fighting Greeks, who were relatively weak

in horsemen, or Scythians who were relatively strong in them, the significant thing was superiority over the enemy infantry: in the Greek case this could happily be symbolized by having a horseman riding down an infantryman but in the Scythian case that would not be satisfactory – everyone knew Scythian horsemen were too good to be sidelined in that way and it was necessary to select the infantry arm of the Persian military to encapsulate superiority.

This conjecture means that, here too, the Herodotean representation of what happened beyond the Danube was not perhaps wholly remote from a possible Persian view of things: for it is not the futile pursuit of fleeing Scythian horsemen all around the southern Ukraine that signals Dareios' defeat, but the failure of a relatively conventional battle between mixed forces to yield actual Persian victory. This does nothing for the exactitude of Herodotus as a reporter of actual events, but it is agreeable to end with some small defence of his wider credit as a historical observer.

### *Conclusion*

The northern frontier of the Persian Empire either directly abutted regions in which Scythian or Sakan tribes were to be found or was inhabited by people who had contact with such regions. It is no surprise, therefore, that the written historical record includes episodes of conflict between Persians and Scythians. So, although only DB § 74 comes at all close to being the unarguably authentic record of a particular military confrontation (and even then, as part of an *ego-* narrative of propagandistic character, it is not beyond contestation), I do not think that we need to dismiss any of the others (Kyros' eastern wars; Ariaramnes' naval raid; the Scythian expedition; Dareios' other encounters with Scythians as narrated in Polyainos) as completely unrelated to reality. But we do have to admit that in all cases the relation to reality may be heavily compromised. Most people have no problem with this when it is a question of the war of Kyros with Queen Tomyris (because it is geographically remote, lacks circumstantial detail and smells of emblematic stereotype) or of any story in Ktesias (just because it *is* a story in Ktesias). The case of events in northern Thrace and beyond the Danube in Herodotus book 4 is precisely similar.

The existence of the narrative is in itself *probably* sound evidence that some form of military venture occurred in that general geographical space. Some individual features of the narrative – the city of Gelonos and the Oaros forts, but also, for example, Idanthyrsos' gifts or (a more down-to-earth matter) the actual *tactical* stalemate in 4.128-134 – may be authentic in the sense that such things really did figure in the story-telling environment that was the only data-set available to Herodotus and his sources. But any such authenticity guarantees very little about what actually happened. The vulnerability of the modern historian's position is clear from another potentially authentic detail. If a fleet of Greek ships *was* involved, then there had once been a quite substantial number of predominantly east Aegean Greeks who were wit-

nesses to the fact that the Danube was crossed. If one were minded to assert that the Danube was *not* in fact crossed, one would have to account for the creation and success of a story predicated on something that a lot of people had known was not true. Perhaps it would be possible to do so. But, even if one decides to abjure that degree of scepticism, nothing much more than the fact of a river-crossing is established, because everything else that is said about the Greeks' engagement with the course of events on the other side of the Danube is embedded in what are precisely the controversial aspects of the overall story and it would be a *petitio principii* to appeal to the presence of Greek witnesses (most of whom would anyway be dead by the time Herodotus was collecting material) as a guarantee of truth. The very fact (noted above) that the fleet plays no narrative role *except* at the Danube crossing and that nothing survives about its voyage from Byzantium to that crossing-point is a stark reminder of how disjoined the story has become from what one might once have heard about if one had been in a position to talk with the people involved.

Is the comparative modesty of Ktesias' version of what happened the other side of the Danube any guarantee of greater truth-value? The argument advanced above about Aischylos' ability to ignore the Scythian expedition favours the view that the early stories about what happened did not make it into any big deal. So it *may* be that the reason Ktesias purveyed his version was that stories told in the reign of Dareios I were still being told a century or so later and that he judged them a suitable alternative to the Herodotean narrative. (That was probably the important thing. He might have thought them more credible too, but I am not sure that that was more than a secondary matter.) It *may* also be that his entirely non-Herodotean story about Ariaramnes – another story that is not inherently over-blown – was also a tale surviving from the distant past. But the fact that the story is an addition to, not a substitute for, something in Herodotus is still probably inadequate to give it any special *imprimatur* of authenticity. We may feel that stories of Persians carrying out raids on the north Black Sea from a base in Kappadokia fit the world of Dareios I better than that of Ktesias' time (in other words, that it was a model unlikely to be offered to his inventiveness by more contemporary events) – but that may only be another way of saying how little we know. One would sympathize with anyone who wished to argue the merits of Ktesias' version of Dareios and the Black Sea Scythians, but could hardly feel very sure that it was pointful to do so.

All ancient historiography (and perhaps not only ancient) works with what is credible as well as with what is objectively attested – it is, after all, in the business of creating narratives, not listing data, and the credible serves to compensate for deficiencies of data and to supply continuity – both substantive and/or literary. The effect of this concern with the credible varies with the data and with the remoteness of events from what might be called the default home environment: Thukydides writing the narrative of a battle fought in

Boeotia (for example) is in a different situation from Herodotus writing the narrative of one fought (and indeed *not* fought) in Scythia, though both will be quite happy to accompany the narrative with pieces of entirely invented *oratio obliqua*. Beyond a certain limit we cannot expect properly to assess or control these effects; and in some cases the situation created by concern with the credible is complicated by a parallel fascination with the *incredible*. A setting such as Scythia is likely to be a case in point. We should not assume that Herodotus or Ktesias thought their narratives entirely credible to start with (any more than the former really believed in over 5,000,000 people entering Greece with Xerxes in 480 BC or the latter really believed that Plataea was fought before Salamis). In our terms of truth and falsehood, we may at best be invited to accept a narrative as “poetically” true. As with any act of poetry (*poiesis*) we are at liberty to disentangle, study and speculate about the materials the poet has used; but there remains a real sense in which the eventual poem must be judged whole or not at all.

## Notes

- 1 Pherekyd. *FGrH* 3 F174; Ktes. 688 F13(20-21); Just. 2.5.9; Oros. 2.8.5; Jordan. *Get.* 63; Strab. 7.3.14-15, 16.1.3; Nep. *Milt.* 3; Plat. *Menex.* 239E, *Gorg.* 483D; Polyb. 4.43.2; Diod. 2.5.5. On the other hand, Strabon's statement (7.3.9) that Choerilus described an army crossing *Dareios'* bridge must, I think, be an error. The claim that a supposed sixth century substratum in Pseudo-Skylax's account of the Black Sea reflects a Pontic voyage by the real Skylax (of Karyanda) undertaken ahead of Dareios' expedition (cf. Gallotta 1980, 152 n. 28, citing Baschmakoff 1948) is, to say the least, speculative.
- 2 Purves 2006 is a rare example. (His thesis is that Dareios fails because he wrongly tries to apply to Scythia principles of linearity and countability that are only appropriate to Egypt.) The expedition barely registers as such in the recent *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (2002) and *Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (2006), though in the latter Stephanie West does find the Transcaucasian expedition hypothesized in Gardiner-Garden 1987 persuasive (493).
- 3 For previous (more or less extensive) treatments see, for example, Bury 1897; Minns 1913, 116-117; Rostovtzeff 1922, 84-85; Schnitzler 1972; Gallotta 1980; Parlatto 1981; Shahbazi 1982; Chernenko 1984; Georges 1987; Gardiner-Garden 1987, Fol & Hammond 1988; Archibald 1998, 79-88; Briant 2002, 141-144. The current (and correct) orthodoxy is that whatever lies behind the events in Herodotus book 4 is quite separate from Dareios' campaign against Skunkha in DB §74. Balcer (1972a) argued the contrary, but later abandoned the view. It was still assumed by Petit (1990, 108-109). Trible (2006) writes that “the Scythians nearly defeated Dareios' invasion of Scythia in 522 BCE” – which is too early even for DB §74 and is perhaps a misprint. Yailenko (2004) contends that DB §74 corresponds to Ariaramnes' raid across the Black Sea in Ktesias 688 F13(20), which led to the conquest of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and was a preliminary to the invasion in Herodotus book 4. I can see no merit in this view. For another approach to DB §74 cf n. 21.

- 4 Megabazos' son Oibares was subsequently governor of Daskyleion (6.33: before 493). Herodotus has Megabazos succeeded in the *strategie* (contextually *ton parathalassion andron*) by Otanes, which may or may not be consistent with Megabazos having been left at Daskyleion in ca. 513.
- 5 This could have been prompted by the fleet's arrival in the area with news of events across the Danube.
- 6 A recent discussion (Scott 2005) seeks to eliminate the problem by arguing that the entire story of this expulsion is a *canard* from Miltiades' trial at Athens in 493.
- 7 Fol & Hammond 1988 are an exception, attributing Dareios a march of 2,000 miles in three months. The time-frame of something more than two months implied by the narrative has thus been arbitrarily increased by nearly a half. Skrzinskaya (1991, 108) suggests "60 days" is simply a stereotype "big" number and not to be taken seriously for calculation purposes: but that does not mean we can increase it to whatever suits us – it means that it is part of a discourse that may not be susceptible to rational "correction" at all. Minns (1913, 117) claimed the figure was the remnant of an original plan to march from the Danube to the Caucasus and thence back home, while Rybakov (1979, 174-179) reckoned that the distance could be covered in the appropriate number of days if for some of the time it was only Dareios' *cavalry* that was chasing round after the Scythians.
- 8 For example, Pherekydes' version of the exchange of messages (*FGrH* 3 F174), references to Miltiades' advice to strand Dareios in Scythia (*Nep. Milt.* 3) or the contrast between Sesostris' success and Dareios' failure in Scythia reported by Herodotus (2.110) and Diodoros 1.55. (In the latter version Scythia is not even named.)
- 9 Is there some link between the 20-day dimension of the sides of the square Scythia described here and the 60-day limit set by Dareios for the campaign (Hdt. 4.98)? In any event one sympathizes with Minns' feeling that Herodotus is creating a sort of chessboard for the combatants to move around on. The description does also contain some entirely non-pertinent material about the Tauric peninsula – but (because of the comparison with Attica) that arguably contributes to the analogy with 480 (cf. n. 12)
- 10 The Scythian "desert" was already proverbial in 420s Athens as a place of brutal horror (Ar. *Ach.* 704). For Strabon too (cf. n. 1) the story played out in a desert.
- 11 West (1988: 210) noted that the story logically belongs when Dareios has just crossed the Danube, and she and Corcella (1993, 327) take the Pherekydes' version to have been so located.
- 12 Hartog (1988) laid some stress on this (for example 35-40, 47, 259); cf. Corcella 1993, xxv-xxvi. There are also (less surprisingly) analogies with Kyrus and the Massagetai (Gallotta 1980, 197).
- 13 He made the Scythian venture adjacent with invasion of Greece (Datis goes to Attica from the Black Sea) and has Xerxes' motivation for attack include misdeeds by the Chalkedonians.
- 14 On the Sesostris story, cf. Ivantchik 1999.
- 15 The story that Miltiades recommended destruction of the Danube bridge (4.137) is regularly thought to have figured in, indeed perhaps to have been invented for, Miltiades' *apologia* in Athens following his return there in the late 490s. But, even if that is so, we cannot be sure how the rest of the context was presented at that time.

- 16 The identity of its end-point – perhaps connectable with the foundation of Das-kyleion – is another matter, already touched on above.
- 17 Especially if there really was a place called Nipsa that figured in the Athenian tribute lists.
- 18 Notice incidentally that the actual crossing on the outward journey is never narrated as such – 5.9-10 declares that no one can say anything reliable about land north of Thrace, but the land beyond the Danube is vast and desolate, and the only known people there are Sigynnai whose territory may extend nearly as far as that of the Enetoi on the Adriatic. Herodotus opines that it is the cold, not bees, that prevent travel/settlement north of the Danube. Yet he himself has ventured to say lots of other things about land beyond the Danube. One can only make sense of this by assuming that for the purposes of this discourse “Thrace” lies to the west of the line of Dareios’ advance to and across the Danube, even though the Getai and the people around Apollonia and Mesembria are Thracians. Since the focus of Megabazos’ activity can be thought of as more westerly, this is not wholly without sense.
- 19 This place appears in the story of Alexander’s incursion into Transdanubian Thrace (Arr. 1.2.2, 3.3, with Bosworth 1980, 57).
- 20 Herodotus says that, after leaving the Tearos, Dareios came to the Arteskos (4.92), which flows through Odrysian territory. If the Arteskos is the Teke (Jochmus 1854, 46; Müller 1987), a river originating in the Stranja, the Odrysians extend much further east than one would naturally suppose. If it is the Ardas (Archibald 1998, 82), Dareios must have crossed the Hebrus (since the Ardas enters it at Edirne from the west) – which implies a westerly route from the Tearos (cf. Corcella 1993, 306)
- 21 Among rivers identified with the Oaros are (from east to west): Kuban (Gardiner-Garden 1987, 333), Volga (Schnitzler 1972, 66; Gallotta 1980, 69; Sulimirski 1985, 190), Sal (a Don affluent: Jacobs 2000, 96), Korsak or another river entering the Sea of Azov west of Berdansk (Chernenko 1984, 92), Dnieper (Harmatta 1990, 129; Archibald 1998, 81; Corcella 1993, xxii) and Buzau (Bury 1897). The first three go with hypotheses involving a Transcaucasian expedition either before or contemporary with the Transdanubian one (and in Schnitzler’s case explicitly identified with the operation in DB §74!), the last with a Romanian location for Dareios’ target area. The other two represent attempts to get Dareios as far as possible into Scythia without (allegedly) breaching the slightly-over-60-day limit for the campaign. In Chernenko’s case this involves locating Dareios’ parley with Idanthyrsos (Hdt. 4.126-127) on the banks of the Oaros and close to the Azov coast; incursions into Sauromatian, Boudinian and other territories in 4.122-123 and 125 having been rejected as entirely untrue.
- 22 Admittedly there was fire-destruction there in the late sixth century as in other forest-steppe forts (Shramko 1975, 67; Hoddinott 1981, 95; Chernenko 1984, 95; Corcella 1993, 323) but there is no telling whether it is of precisely the right date.
- 23 Bury 1897; Gardiner-Garden 1987, 344.
- 24 Those who are sick and of *elakhistos logos* (least significance) in 4.135 are contrasted with the *katharos stratos* (“pure” army), terminology that in Thukydides 5.8.9 seems to have an ethnic significance. But the presence of the sick troops in Herodotus complicates the picture, since troops of any ethnicity can fall sick or be wounded.

25 West (2004, 75) infers Dareios' intention to make no more than a brief foray across the river. Fol & Hammond (1988, 240) take creation of a proper bridge to prove that the river-crossing is the base for something much more than a temporary raid. Safer to conclude just that his plans did not involve combined land-sea operations (any more than they apparently had since he left Byzantium) and that he wanted to be able to return the way he had come.

26 I wonder whether the fashion for explaining the hare-chasing (shown on a Kul'-Oba plaque: Minns 1913, 197, fig.90; Rolle 1989, 99 fig.71; Jacobsen 1995, fig.52) as some sort of reflection of the Eurasian nomadic game of *buskashi* (cf. Rolle 1989, 98-99; Corcella 1993, 328) is really valid.

27 Arr. 4.3.6-5.1; Curt. 7.7.1-29, 7.8.1-9.19.

28 For the Danube as imperial frontier cf. Deinon *FGrH* 690 F23(b) = Plut. *Alex.* 36.

29 One could speculate about religious explanation for failure. It would have to mean either that Ahuramazda did not will success or that the Scythians' gods were more powerful. The former would be the less bad option, but particularly difficult when the king himself was involved. Following the cosmological/eschatological line one might try to argue that it had turned out that the undefeated enemy were not part of the Evil One's creation and therefore not in line for conquest.

30 Earth-and-water also appears in the Megabazos-Macedon narrative (5.18).

31 Clement of Alexandria, attributes the story to Pherekydes of Syros, a mythographer and cosmogonist perhaps too early to have retailed a late sixth century story. Jacoby included the fragment as a *dubium* in his edition of Pherekydes of Athens (in *FGrH* I), and later assigned it to Pherekydes of Leros (Jacoby 1947, 52-53) – who was probably a Hellenistic author (cf. West 1988). Fowler (2000) rejects the attribution to Pherekydes of Athens. West (1988) suggests Clement misread an intermediate source and was wrong to think the story came from *any* author called Pherekydes – making its origin and date in relation to Herodotus a matter of pure speculation – but also finds reason to regard it as a more authentic version. The story type has a partial analogy in the comments of Jaxartes Scythians to Alexander in Curt. 7.8.17.

32 Some existing epigraphic material that may cast some light on the matter is discussed later.

33 Pippidi 1970; Alexandrescu 1990, 66; Vinogradov 1997, 108-109; de Boer 2004-2005, 274. Perhaps the phenomena are part of what lay behind talk of post-expedition Scythian "reprisals" (Hdt. 6.40, 84) – or of the Scytho-Thracian conflict from which some believe the Odrysian Kingdom to have emerged (Tsetskhladze 1996, 967).

34 Vinogradov's "protectorate" thesis is criticized by Kryzhitskii 2005.

35 Marchenko & Vakhtina 1997. That the region is also Herodotus' "Ancient Scythia" must be uncertain, however, given a recent claim that that term is merely a textual corruption in the historian's text (Hind 2005).

36 For example, Archibald 1998, 103-4.

37 Marchenko 1995, chap. 5; Solovev 1998, 218-222; 1999, 64, 79, 95-96; de Boer 2004-2005; Tsetskhladze 1998.

38 Knauss 2003; Knauss 2006; Knauss this volume; Bill this volume.

39 Tac. *Ann.* 12.15; Strab. 11.5.2, 8; Diod.20.22-23; Mela 1.19; Ptolem. 5.8.12.

40 Ptolem. 6.9.5 (Hyrcania).

41 Archibald 1998, 177-196, 260-281; Ebbinghaus 1999; Zournatzi 2000.

42 Balcer 1972b; Balcer 1988; Picard 2000; Georges 2000.

43 Jochmus 1854, 43-44; Unger 1915.

44 Other suggestions include that the story actually alludes to the building of fortresses (Georges 1987, 131) or the erection of monuments celebrating conquest of the Odrysians (Klinkott 2001, 119).

45 Mayrhofer 1978, 16 (3.10). Archibald (1998, 81) misleadingly suggests that the text is evidence about the Dobrudja and can be put (along with Hekat. 1 F166 on Boryza) in a pattern of fortified occupation in the western Black Sea littoral.

46 Masetti 1982. There is a two-column (ca. 100 line) lacuna between the reign of Cyrus (II 17-24) and the section that Masetti wished to associate with Dareios I. This was not seen by Grayson (on whose text Masetti was relying), but was established by Lambert in 1978. (For a recent re-edition of the text, cf. van der Spek 2003, 311-324.)

47 The lists appear in DPe, DNA, XPh (Kent 1953; Schmitt 2000), DSe (Stève 1974, 7-28 supersedes the text in Kent 1953), the Suez Canal Stelae (Posener 1936, 8-10) and the Dareios statue from Susa (Yoyotte 1972).

48 The description of the Scythians is conventionally rendered as "Scythians of the marshes and of the plains" (after Posener 1936). Edakov 1976 (and cf. Edakov 1980, 108) took it to mean the "northern Scythian territories", while Edakov 1986 speaks of the Statue text as referring to "all Scythians (including those) on the sea". In both cases he seems to suppose the Black Sea Scythians are wholly or partly in mind. It is hard for the non-Egyptologist to unravel what is going on here (and in trying to do so I am indebted for assistance to my Liverpool colleague Mark Collier), but my impression is that (a) the Canal and Statue texts are probably saying the same thing (albeit with different writings), (b) there are two Scythian entities in question, (c) Posener's interpretation of them as corresponding to the *Saka tigraxauda* and *Saka haumavarga* of cuneiform inscriptions is certainly neat but cannot be definitive – not because of any defect in his understanding of the hieroglyphs but because the assumption that the Egyptian nomenclature has a one-to-one correspondence with the cuneiform one is plainly not independently testable. The best construction I can put on what Edakov is suggesting is this: the sign Posener interprets as "marsh" actually signifies "north" (which it certainly can) and we are dealing with a unitary concept, so that what might literally be read as "Saka of the north, Saka of the plains" really signifies "Saka of the northern plains". (The sea does not appear to come into it at all, despite the way things are put in Edakov 1986.) But, even if this were so, it would remain entirely uncertain whether this generic term – applicable to *any* Scythians on the northern edges of the Empire – actually in practice includes Scythians in the plains north of the Black Sea.

49 The same is true of the entire set of Yauna references in royal inscriptions: see recently Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001a, 2001b; Klinkott 2001 (but note that he seems unaware of the revisions to DSe in Stève 1974); Casabonne 2004. I shall leave this larger question for another occasion.

50 The view is sometimes expressed that, when fighting Athenians at Marathon, the Persians were taken by surprise by a species of hoplite fighting that differed markedly from what they had experienced from west Anatolian Greeks. If so, it also differed markedly from the behaviour of north Aegean Greeks (never mind Macedonians or Thracians!) and the point made in the text would actually be reinforced.

51 Persepolis: Apadana XIX (Schmidt 1953, 89, pl. 45), Central Building no.20 (Schmidt 1953, 119, pl. 81 [no.20]), Hall of 100 Columns (Schmidt 1953, 136, pl.

111 [E10]), palace H (Tilia 1972, 284, fig.8). Naqsh-i Rustam: Schmidt 1970, 109, fig.44. (The identification of unlabeled Skudrians – i.e. those at Persepolis – follows the tabulation in Roaf 1974, 149.) Jacobs (2002, 376-378) is sceptical about the documentary reality of the palace H figure.

52 Archibald 1998, 208.

53 Archibald 1998, 84, n. 29.

54 Henkelman & Stolper forthcoming.

55 Skudrians appear in years 14 and 17-24 (with seven texts before year 20), Turmiriyans (for example) only in years 20-25.

56 Šedda: PF-NN 0728 (and perhaps also PF-NN 2653); Karizza: PF-NN 2653.

57 Bakena: PF 1561; Zimakka: PF 783.

58 PF 1957: 10; PF-NN 2184.

59 Hdt. 5.12-15, 23, 98.

60 For the former view, see Briant 2002, 408-409 (the royal coinage – both *sigloi* and darics – was created at Sardis on Dareios' return from Europe), for the latter, Vargyas 1999; Vargyas 2000 (the introduction of darics, along with new, type II, *sigloi*, belongs between 519 and 512, probably towards the latter *terminus*). Nimchuk (2002, 69) sees both as linking *sigloi* (if not darics) with payment of military expenses. But any imputation that they were *created* to pay for the Scythian expedition seems false on either view. That Dareios' *personal* experience of coin-producing areas in Aegean Anatolia and Thrace might have provided a more general stimulus for the issue of a new coinage that was specifically royal and Persian (as well as for the inclusion of non-Persian coins in the Apadana foundation deposit; Vargyas 2000; Zournatzi 2003) is not impossible but, if so, it is an expression of power from which nothing very certain can be inferred about the actual course of events in Europe.

61 Summerer 2007a; Summerer 2007b.

62 Cf., for example, Stolper 2001, 108.

63 Summerer (2007b) notes Strab. 15.3.15 (Zela/Sakaia story) as a sign of the legendary or formative character of Persian-Scythian conflict.

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